Monday, August 4, 1975
Sravana 13, 1897 (Saka)

LOK SABHA DEBATES

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LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT
NEW DELHI

CONTENTS

No. 11, *Monday, August* 4, 1975/*Sravana* 13, 1897 (*Saka*)

	COLUMNS
Obituary References	1—2
(*Shri Sadhu Ram and Shri Bhagirathi Mahapatra*)	
Papers laid on the Table	2—4
Messages from Rajya Sabha	3—5
Assent to Bills	5
Committee on Absence of Members from the Sittings of the House—Twenty-second Report	6
Committee on Public Undertakings—Seventy-third Report	6
Statement on the case relating to throwing of hand grenades on Chief Justice of India on March 20, 1975	
Shri Om Mehta	6—7
Election Laws (Amendment) Bill—*Introduced*	7—10
Motion re New Programme for Economic Progress—*Adopted*	11—168
Shri M. C. Daga	12—18
Shri D. N. Tiwary	18—26
Shri Sarjoo Pandey	26—35
Shri K. G. Deshmukh	35—41
Dr. G. S. Melkote	41—45
Shri Genda Singh	45—49
Shri Amrit Nahata	49—56
Shri Vayalar Ravi	56—61
Shri P. R. Shenoy	62—66
Shri Arjun Sethi	66—67
Shri Giridhar Gomango	68—71
Shri M. G. Uikey	71—75
Shri Kartik Oraon	75—83
Shri P. K. Ghosh	83—87

	COLUMNS
Shrimati M. Godfrey	87—90
Shri Mohan Swarup	90—96
Sardar Swaran Singh Sokhi	96—99
Shrimati Bhargavi Thankappan	99—103
Shri Anadi Charan Das	103—07
Shri Jambhuwant Dhote	108—16
Shri Chiranjib Jha	116—19
Dr. Govind Das Richhariya	119—23
Shri Shyam Sunder Mohapatra	123—27
Shrimati Roza Deshpande	127—31
Shri K. D. Malaviya	131—37
Shri Jagdish Narain Mandal	137—41
Shri Rajdeo Singh	141—43
Shri C. Subramaniam	143—67

LOK SABHA

Monday, August 4, 1975/Sravana 13, 1897 (Saka)

The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of the Clock

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

OBITUARY REFERENCES

MR. SPEAKER: Hon. Members, with a sense of great sorrow I have to inform the House of the sad demise of one of our sitting Members—Chaudhary Sadhu Ram and a former colleague, Shri Bhagarathi Mahapatra

Chaudhary Sadhu Ram who passed away at Phagwara (Punjab) on the 1st August; 1975 at the age of 66; was one of the senior Members of this House from Phillaur Constituency of Punjab. He first entered Lok Sabha in 1957 and thereafter was returned to Lok Sabha in all successive elections. Earlier, he had been a Member of the State Assembly and also the Deputy Home Minister in the erstwhile PEPSU State. A veteran freedom fighter; Chaudhary Sadhu Ram had always been in the forefront to champion the cause of labour and depressed classes. He had suffered imprisonment in 1948 while participating and leading a labour movement. He did a great deal for rural uplift and amelioration of backward classes in his home State. A simple amiable and a straightforward man; he was associated with many social and cultural organisations in Punjab. As Member of Lok Sabha; he took active part in the proceedings of the House and forcefully advocated the cause of the down-trodden and weaker sections of society. He also served on a number of Parliamentary Committees. He had been attending the sittings of this House regularly during this session and he was with us till the 1st August barely a few hours before his death. No one could imagine that he would be snatched away from us so soon.

Shri Bhagirathi Mahapatra was a Member of the Central Legislative Assembly during the years 1945—47. He was also a Member of Rajya Sabha during the years 1956—62. A veteran freedom fighter, he suffered imprisonment during the year, 1930—33 and was subjected to house-searches and property seizure several times during 1930—35. He was associated with a number of educational and cultural organisations. He was also a Member of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language during the years 1957-58. He passed away at Cuttack on the 2nd August, 1975 at the age of 83.

We deeply mourn the loss of these friends and I am sure the House will join me in conveying our condolences to the bereaved families.

The House may stand in silence for a short while to express its sorrow.

The Members then stood in silence for a short while.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

STATEMENT re MARKET LOANS FLOATED BY GOVT. IN JULY, 1975

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE): I beg to lay on the Table a statement (Hindi and English versions) indicating the result of the market loans floated by the Government of India in July, 1975. [*Placed in Library. See* No. LT-9920/75].

STATEMENTS SHOWING ACTION TAKEN BY GOVT. ON VARIOUS ASSURANCES, PROMISES ETC. GIVEN BY MINISTER

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI B. SHANKARANAND): I beg to lay on the Table the following statements showing the action taken by the Government on various assurances, promises and undertakings given by the Ministers during the various sessions of Lok Sabha:—

Fourth Lok Sabha

(i) Statement No. XXIX	Eleventh Session, 1970.

Fifth Lok Sabha

(ii) Statement No. XVIII	Eighth Session, 1973.
(iii) Statement No. XVII	Tenth Session, 1974
(iv) Statement No. X	Eleventh Session, 1974.
(v) Statement No. IX	Twelfth Session, 1974.
(vi) Statement No. IX.	Thirteenth Session 1975

[*Placed in Library. See* No LT-9921/75].

11.07 hrs.

MESSAGES FROM RAJYA SABHA

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Sir, I have to report the following messages received from the Secretary-General of Rajya Sabha:—

(i) 'In accordanc with the provisions of rule 127 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to inform the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha, at its sitting held on the 1st August, 1975, agreed without any amendment to the Provident Funds (Amendment) Bill, 1975, which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 31st July, 1975:'

(ii) 'In accordance with the provisions of rule 127 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to inform the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 1st August, 1975, agreed without any amendment to the Agricultural Refinance Corporation (Amendment) Bill, 1975, which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 31st July, 1975.'

(iii) 'In accordance with the provisions of rule 115 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to inform the Lok Sabna that the Rajya Sabha, at its sitting held on the 1st August 1975, agreed to the following amendments made by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 30th July, 1975, in the Telegraph Wires (Unlawful Possession) Amendment Bill, 1974:—

Enacting Formula

1. That at page 1, line 1,—

for "Twenty-fifth" *substitute* "Twenty-sixth"

Clause 1

2. That at page 1, line 4,—

for "1974" *substitute* "1975".'

(iv) 'I am directed to inform the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on Friday, the 1st August, 1975, adopted the following motion in regard to the Joint Committee on the Constitution (Thirty-second Amendment) Bill, 1973:—

"That this Hose concurs in the recommendation of the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha do appoint one member of the Rajya Sabha to the Joint Committee on the Constitution (Thirty-second Amendment) Bill, 1973, in the vacancy caused by the retirement of Shri Niran Ghosh from the membership of the Rajya Sabha on the 9th July, 1975 and resolves that Shri Salil Kumar Ganguli, member of the Rajya Sabha be appointed to the said Joint Committee to fill the vacancy."

11.09 hrs.

ASSENT TO BILLS

Sir, I lay on the Table following eight Bills passed by the Houses of Parliament during the current session and assented to since a report was last made to the House on the 22nd July, 1975:—

(1) The Pondicherry Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1975.

(2) The Nagaland State Legislature (delegation of Powers) Bill 1975.

(3) The Defence of India (Amendment) Bill, 1975.

(4) The Kerala Legislative Assembly (Extension of Duration) Bill, 1975.

(5) The Finance (Amendment) Bill, 1975.

(6) The Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1975.

(7) The Appropriation (No. 4) Bill 1975.

(8) The Employees' State Insurance (Amendment) Bill, 1975.

11.10 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON ABSENCE OF MEMBERS FROM THE SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE

TWENTY-SECOND REPORT

SHRI MADHORAM SHARMA (Karnal): I beg to present the Twenty-second Report of the Committee on Absence of Members from the Sittings of the House.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS

SEVENTY-THIRD REPORT

SHRI NAVAL KISHORE SHARMA (Dausa): I beg to present the Seventy-third Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings on Action Taken by Government on the recommendations contained in their Forty-ninth Report on the Indian Oil Corporation Ltd. (Marketing Division).

11.11 hrs.

STATEMENT ON THE CASE RELATING TO THROWING OF HAND GRENADES ON CHIEF JUSTICE OF INDIA ON MARCH 20, 1975

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS AND DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MEHTA): It will be recalled that at the crossing of Bhagwandas Road and Tilak Marg, New Delhi, two live grenades were dropped in the car in which the Chief Justice of India was proceeding to his house at about 4.10 P.M. on 20th March, 1975. A case under section 307 IPC, 4/5 of the Explosive Substances Act and Section 6

[Shri Om Mehta]

of the Indian Explosives Act was registered in regard to this crime at Police Station Tilak Marg, New Delhi. The investigation of this case was taken over by the C.B.I. on 30th June, 1975 at the instance of Delhi Administration.

The investigation into this case is almost complete. While it will not be in the public interest to give the details at this stage, we would like to take the House into confidence about certain salient facts relating to this case.

The conspiracy resulting in this outrage was hatched some time in early March, 1975 by a gang of fanatic Anand Margis of which Santoshanand, Sudevanand and Vikram were the principal members.

According to evidence which has now come on record Santoshanand and Sudevanand actually threw the grenades—one each—and Vikram was with them on the spot. After throwing the grenades Santoshanand and Sudevanand stayed for a short period in a room which had been reserved for them in a fictitious name. While staying there Santoshanand got certain letters written in Hindi and English which were posted to various addresses including one threatening letter to the Chief Justice of India. Santoshanand, Sudevanand and Vikram have been arrestd.

The C.B.I. has been able to get not only oral but also documentary evidence to establish the complicity of Santoshanand, Sudevanand and Vikram and a few others, and a charge sheet against them will be filed soon.

11.13 hrs.

ELECTION LAWS (AMENDMENT) BILL*

THE MINISTER OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRI H. R. GOKHALE): Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Representation of the People Act, 1951 and the Indian Penal Code.

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Mohan Dharia, the other day, I had given the ruling that at this preliminary stage only technical and constitutional points should be raised.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA (Poona): I am here to oppose the leave sought by the hon. Minister to introduce the Bill. I am referring to your Direction 19(B) as referred to by Mr. Gokhale. It is very clear. Two clear days for circulation of a Bill are necessary and it couuld be waived for valid reasons. I am reading out from page 2, para 3 of the memorandum. It says:

> "In view of the short duration of the current session of Parliament and the need to get the Bill passed in the current session itself, it is not possible to comply with the requirement in direction 19B of the directions of the Speaker...."

It is not stating the reasons. What are the exact reasons? What is the need? Is it because the Supreme Court is going to consider the apppeal of the Prime Minister on the 11th August that this Bill is being introduced?

Sir, it was an assurance given by the hon. Prime Minister and also by Mr. Raghu Ramaiah that so far as election reforms are concerned, the Opposition parties and all sections of the House will be taken into confidence. Is is not the duty of the Government, after giving an assurance, to take all sections of the House into confidence? Therefore. I feel that granting of this sort of leave will not be proper; it may not be fair. There was adequate time. The Bill could have been brought for introduction

*Published in Gazette of India Extraordinary, Part II, Section 2, dated 4-8-75.

tomorrow thus giving two clear days for circulation. Why this indecent haste? Therefore, I fail to understand why this indecent haste is being shown, particularly when the Opposition parties, a major section of the Opposition is not participating in the deliberations?

(Interruptions)

My submission is that Mr. Raghu Ramaiah had said that this was a very urgent session. They would like to carry out several measures regarding the economic programme and therefore even the Rules of Procedure should be set aside by the House. Is it part of the economic programme? I would like to know from the hon. Minister what is the urgency? What is the need for it? Why has he not explained the reasons? Therefore, I am opposing this.

Under Article 14 of the Constitution, every citizen should enjoy equal rights. Let us be clear that by giving retrospective effect to this Bill, we are snatching away the rights given to the citizens of the country, particularly to the respondents, to the petitioners for going to the Allahabad High Court.

THE MINISTER OF WORKS AND HOUSING AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH): Since my name has been mentioned it is my duty to clarify the position. We did start talk with the Opposition leaders in regard to electoral reforms. To the last of my recollection the talks were postponed because the date fixed by us did not suit the opposition and the House adjourned *sine die* after that. Secondly, what I said on that day was very clear. I said that the session was for disposing of Government business and that the session was going to be a short one because the Ministers were busy with the implementation of the economic programme. That is what I said, I did not say that the session was to carry out measures of economic programme.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: Then what is the need for this Bill?

SHRI H. R. GHOKALE: You have already waived it.

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That the leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Representation of the People Act, 1951 and the Indian Penal Code."

The motion was adopted.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

THE MINISTER OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRI H. R. GOKHALE): Sir, with your kind permission, I propose to move the Bill for consideration and passing tomorrow.

MR SPEAKER: That is very good of you You have agreed for tomorrow.

SHRI H. R. KOKHALE: Yes

MR. SPEAKER: So, it will come tomorrow.

SHRI H. R. GOKHALE: I suggest that it may be taken up tomorrow as first item.

MR. SPEAKER: I think Mr. Mohan Dharia will be very happy on this.

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: Why this indecent haste?

MR SPEAKER: You must have some people with you to share your happiness.

MOTION *RE.* NEW PROGRAMME FOR ECONOMIC PROGRESS—*contd.*

MR. SPEAKER: We resume discussion on item No. 11. Shri M. C. Daga to continue his speech.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): At what time, the Minister will reply to it?

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM): I may be called at 5 O'clock.

MR. SPEAKER: We have already taken 11 hours and 45 minutes.

THE MINISTER OF WORKS AND HOUSING AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH): You kindly extend the time.

(Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: We have got some work to do outside.

SHRI K RAGHU RAMAIAH: We have also got.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Please make up your mind and then tell us

SHRI C. H. MOHAMMED KOYA (Manjeri): Please make up your mind. We have been put to great inconvenience because of such piecemeal extensions.

MR. SPEAKER: There are about 50 names till on the list to speak on it They have already taken too much time. We must fix some time limit for it. There are two more Bills after that Already the debate has taken 11 hours 45 minutes How much more time do you want?

SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH: Considering the importance of the subject and the number of members who want to speak, I suggest that the time be so extended that the Minister will be called at 5 O'Clock.

MR. SPEAKER: All right. The Minister will speak at 5 O'Clock. Mr. M. C. Daga, to continue his speech

श्री मूलचन्द डागा (पाली) : अध्यक्ष महोदय,

"Nehru once compared India to the elephant—intelligent, strong and dignified but heavy, lumbering and slow—which, when provoked, can run faster than a champion sprinter. The analogy could not have come to mind at a more appropriate time. Events of far-reaching consequence have happened in the last three weeks and we see evidence of the mammoth's movement in the initial impact it has already made on every one."

आपातकालीन स्थिति की घोषणा और बाद की घटनाओं ने देश को झकझोर दिया है। उन्माद और निराशा के बादल छंट गए हैं। कांग्रेस संगठन और कांग्रेस सत्ता के लिए एक परीक्षा का काल आ गया है। विद्यार्थी कई बार अपना कार्यक्रम बनाता है और वह समझता है कि वह परीक्षा में अच्छे नम्बरों से पास होना चाहता है। वह एकाग्रचित्त हो कर अनुशासनबद्ध हो कर इम्तहान के दिनों में अपनी पढ़ाई के लिए जूझता है। कांग्रेस के लिए वह परीक्षा का काल है।

एक बात मैं ठीक कहना चाहता हूं कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने कांग्रेस के कार्यकर्ताओं के लिए और कांग्रेस सत्ता के लिए एक परचा आउट कर दिया है और वह परचा 20 सूत्रीय कार्यक्रम है। उन कार्यक्रमों को अगर हम अमल में लाएं तो अवश्य हम अपनी जीवन परीक्षा में सफल हो सकते हैं। कांग्रेस जनता में विश्वास जमा सकती है। इस 20 सूत्रीय कार्यक्रम में उन्होंने जो प्राथमिकता दी है देश के लिए वह आज वरदान साबित हो रही है। जो यह परचा आउट हो गया है कांग्रेस वालों के लिए मैं समझता हूं यह परीक्षा काल आ गया है। कांग्रेस संगठन और कांग्रेस शासन के लिए परीक्षा

का समय है । वह अगर इन समस्याओं से जूझ जाये तो आशा है जो हमें परचा बाहर बिलकुल आउट हुआ है उस 20 सूत्रीय कार्यक्रम को लेकर हम अपनी परीक्षा में उत्तीर्ण हो सकते हैं ।

आधार यह है कि आर्थिक न्याय के बिना राजनैतिक सत्ता और प्रजातंत्र असंभव है । जो प्रश्न उन्होंने रखे है उनके अलावा उन्होंने यह भी कहा था—

"Other matters are being looked into and further measures will be annuounced from time to time."

बीस सूत्रीय प्रोग्राम के बाबत श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने जो भाषण दिया था उसके अलावा उन्होंने बताया था कि दूसरी और भी बातें समय समय पर की जाएंगी । मैं कोई नई बात नहीं कह रहा हूं लेकिन मैं समझता हूं सारे देश मे कुछ और बातें भी होनी चाहिएं । सारे देश में गन्दगी मिटाओ अभियान युद्ध-स्तर पर चलना चाहिए । सारे देश में विशाल पैमाने पर इस अभियान को लागू करना चाहिए । कस्बा गांव नगरपालिका म्युनिसिपल कार्पोरेशन सभी जगह गन्दगी को मिटा देना चाहिए । प्रशासक मेयर, चेयरमैन, गावों के सरपंच यदि इस काम को करने में असफल होते हैं तो उनको तुरन्त हटा देना चाहिए । जल-प्रदूषण और वायु दूषण को जो बीमारी लगी हुई है उसको मिटाना चाहिए ।

cleanliness is next to godliness

स्लम्स को मिटा देना चाहिए । हिन्दुस्तान की धरती पर पटना जैसे शहर मे रहने वालों को शर्म आनी चाहिए, वहां जो गन्दगी है उसको साफ करने का अभियान चलाना चाहिए । स्वच्छता और सफाई के लिए बहुत बड़ा कदम उठाना चाहिए ।

फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब जरा मेरी बात सुनें । ग्लैमर सेक्स से भरपूर उत्तेजित व उभरा हुआ सौन्दर्य व मारधाड़ से भरपूर सभी फिल्मों पर प्रतिबन्ध लगा दिया जाय । राष्ट्र व समाज के विकास का मूल आधार है व्यक्ति का चरित्र । ऐसी फिल्मों पर पूरी तरह से पाबन्दी होनी चाहिए जो केवल सेक्स से भरी हुई हों । या जो फिल्में मारधाड़ दिखाती हैं उन पर भी पूरी पाबन्दी होनी चाहिए । ऐसी फिल्में बननी चाहिएं जिनसे चरित्र का निर्माण होता हो ।

आज भी हमारे देश में सट्टा जुआ मटका चल रहा है । दो करोड़ रुपये का सट्टा मटके पर रोज होता है । देश में ऐसा कानून होना चाहिए जिससे सट्टा जुआ और मटका पूरी तरह बन्द कर दिया जाय । पुलिस की मदद से सब कुछ होता है । देश परेशान सीधे-सादे आदमियों से नहीं बल्कि असामाजिक तत्वों, प्रतिगामी शक्तियों, गांव के बिना डिग्री लिए हुए वकीलों के टाउट्स, पुलिस के एजेंट दादाओं से है । दूसरों की कमाई पर खाने वाले, पुलिस के एजेंट, सरकारी चमचे, चापलूस, बेईमान दादा लोग, गुण्डे लोग और ऐसे असामाजिक तत्व हैं जिनको 110 सी आर पी सी में बन्द करना चाहिए । मुझ से बस में आज भी कह रहे थे कि आज भी कुछ असामाजिक तत्व हैं जो गांवों में छाये रहते हैं । उनके पास डिग्री नहीं होती है लेकिन वह वकीलों के टाउट्स होते हैं, पुलिस के एजेंट होते हैं—ऐसे चमचों, चापलूसों, और बेईमानों की खबर लेनी चाहिए । यह प्रतिगामी शक्तियां कमाती कुछ नही हैं लेकिन मालामाल रहती हैं । इनकी हरकतों को बन्द करने के लिए कड़े कानून होने चाहिए ।

यह राज्य चन्द राजनीतिज्ञों का, पूंजीपतियों का और सरकारी कर्मचारियों का नहीं है । भारत में आखिरी पंक्ति में बैठने वाला व्यक्ति भी यह महसूस करे कि भारत का सजाने व संवारने में उसका भी हाथ है । इस देश में 10 करोड़ और 10 लाख खेतिहर मजदूर और हरिजन हैं । इस देश में 71 प्रतिशत काश्तकार ऐसे हैं जिनके पास 2 हैक्टर से भी कम जमीन है । 55

[श्री मूल चन्द डागा]

फीसदी ऐसे काश्तकार हैं जिनके पास एक हैक्टर से भी कम जमीन है। इस देश में आज भी दो करोड 50 लाख हैक्टर जमीन बाढ़ की चपेट में आती है। आज भी यहां पर 40 रुपया महीना कमाने वाले 60 प्रतिशत लोग हैं। यहां पर 10 से 12 हजार बच्चे विटमिन ए न मिलने की वजह से हर साल अंधे हो जाते है। पाच लाख गांवों में 52 हजार गांव ऐसे है जहां पानी पीने की समुचित व्यवस्था नहीं है। दारू प्रथा समाप्त होगी, कर्जे से गरीब लोगो को मुक्ति मिलेगी। और बरूआ साहब ने हुक्म भेजा है कि कांग्रेस वाले अपनी सारी सम्पत्ति और जमीन घोषित करें लेकिन अपने भाई-बन्धों और दूसरे रिलेटिव्ज के नाम पर, जो जमीन ट्रान्सफर कर दी गई है वह भी घोषित होनी चाहिए। भूमि जो है वह जोतने वालों की होनी चाहिए। कई ऐसे लोग हैं जो काश्त करते नहीं हैं लेकिन जमीन लेकर बैठे हुए है वह जमीन उनसे छीन लेनी चाहिये जब एमरजेंसी मे कदम उठाने है तो सख्ती से उठाने चाहिये।

आज भी यू० एस० ए० और रशिया मे 85 प्रतिशत पानी का उपयोग होता है, जब कि भारत मे भी केवल 55 प्रतिशत उपयोग होता है और उसमे भी जमीन का तीन-चौथाई हिस्सा केवल बरसात पर निर्भर करता है। पान. लेने वालो मे भी जो लठैत होते है, मजबूत होते है वे पानी का ज्यादा लाभ उठाते है, गरीबो को उसका पूरा लाभ नही मिलता। मै चाहता हू कि गरीबो को सिचाई योजना का लाभ पहुचाने के लिये हिन्दुस्तान के लेबल पर एक योजना लागू होनी चाहिये जिससे गरीबो को ज्यादा पानी मिले और उनसे पानी का रेट कम लिया जाय। जिनको ज्यादा पानी की जरूरत है, उनसे ज्यादा रेट लिया जाय।

विद्यार्थी देश की महान् शक्ति है। उसकी परीक्षायें अवश्य होनी चाहियें और मासिक परीक्षायें होनी चाहियें। साथ साथ उनके लिये खेल कम्पलसरी कर देना चाहिये। उसके लिये यह नियम बना देना चाहिये कि जो विद्यार्थी खेल के मैदान में नही जायेगा उसको परीक्षा मे बैठने का अधिकार नही होगा, बल्कि खेलों की भी परीक्षा होनी चाहिये। विद्यार्थियों के लिये धूम्रपान निषेध और मद्य निषेध लागू होना चाहिये। विद्यार्थियो मे आज कल ये दोनो बीमारिया फ़ैल रही है, इन पर फौरन रोक लगाई जानी चाहिये।

आजकल देश के अन्दर हम एक नई बात लाना चाहते है--हमारे मंत्री मित-व्ययता, सादगी, सयम, अहंकारहीनता और आडम्बरहीनता के गुणी हों--उनके इस गुण का समाज के अन्य वर्गो पर असर पड सकता है। चरित्र सम्पन्न या आदर्शवाद मे सम्पन्न व्यक्ति ही अभीष्ट लक्ष्य को प्राप्त कर सकता है।

प्रशासन मे वांछित गतिशीलता आनी चाहिये। प्रशासन मे उदासीनता, भ्रष्टाचार, लालफीताशाही नौकरशाही की समाप्ति होनी चाहिये। प्रशासन सीनियारिटी-कम-मैरिट के आधार पर नही होना चाहिये बल्कि केवल मैरिट के अनुसार होना चाहिये। सविधान की धारा 311 को समाप्त कर देना चाहिये। जैसा आपने बताया कि बम्बई मे एक चतुर्थ श्रेणी के कर्मचारी को ओवरटाइम के 2,981 रुपये मिले या एक तीसरी श्रेणी के कर्मचारी को इसी तरह से काफी रुपया मिला--ऐसी चीजो पर रोक लगानी चाहिये।

गरीबो को मुफ्त कानूनी सलाह मिलनी चाहिये। हम बहुत सालो से सोच रहे है कि गरीबों को मुफ्त कानूनी सलाह दी जाय, लेकिन दुर्भाग्य है कि आज तक हम गरीबों को मुफ्त कानूनी सलाह नही दे पाये, जिसके कारण गरीब लोग अपना कानूनी बचाव नही कर पा रहे हैं--इसलिये इस तरफ़ विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये।

आज का सरकारी आदमी कैसा होना चाहिये—मैं इस पर ज्यादा कहना नहीं चाहता, लेकिन मै "डाइनैमिक्स आफ़ पब्लिक एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन" से कुछ वाक्य कोट करना चाहता हूं—

"The qualities of the public service required.... are almost self-evident. High competence in administration, integrity, stability and reliability in performance; and most significantly, the capacity for innovation and creativity are needed to envision and attain national goals.. These virtues must be achieved within the norms of a democratic society which demand that the public service be representative in its composition, responsive in its behaviour, and responsible to popular institutions in its exercise of power'

मेरे ख्याल से सारे देश के अन्दर एक काम होना चाहिये—सब की प्रोपर्टी का सर्वे होना चाहिये, और। सर्वे होना चाहिये। आज सरकारी अफसर अपने आपको एक कुटुम्ब मानते है, इन कुनबो ने इतना धन बटोरा है जिसका कोई हिसाब नही है। इसलिये मैं चाहता हू कि इनकी प्रापर्टी का टोटल सर्वे होना चाहिये ताकि मालूम हो सके कि किस के पास कितनी प्रापर्टी है। यह घोषणा एमरजैन्सी मे जरूर होनी चाहिये। सरकारी कर्मचारियो मे समय पर काम करने की जो प्रवृत्ति पैदा हुई है, वह थोड़े समय तक ही न चले बल्कि उस को बने रहना बहुत जरूरी है। इसके लिये नीतियां चाहे कितनी ही अच्छी हों, लाभप्रद हो, लेकिन वे तब तक सफल नही हो सकती, जब तक उन पर ईमानदारी और निष्ठा से पालन न किया जाय। वे तभी सफ़लतापूर्वक लागू हो सकती है जब कि उन पर काम करने वाले ईमानदार हो, उन पर निष्ठा से काम करे। मैं यह चाहता हूं कि हर क्षेत्र मे लोकप्रिय कमेटिया कायम की जायं और एम० पी० के हाथ मे उनकी नकेल दे दी जाय। प्रत्येक निर्वाचन क्षेत्र मे वहां के एम० पी० पर उस क्षेत्र की जिम्मेदारी डालिये। आप यहां से 58 करोड़ पर रोज करते हैं, उसी तरह से हर निर्वाचन क्षेत्र मे वहां के एम० प.० के हाथ में उन अधिकारियों की नकेल दीजिये, मैं आपको विश्वास दिलाता हूं कि ये एम० पीज बहुत अच्छा गुड्स डिलवर करेंगे। हर कलैक्टर के दफ्तर मे एक कमरा वहा के एम० पी० का होना चाहिये जो खुद भी उनके साथ क्षेत्र की समस्याओ को हल करने के लिये घूमे। यह सरकारी कमेटी उस के अधीन हो तो वह मार्वलस एचीवमेन्ट्स कर के दिखलायेगा। जो एम० पी० गड़बड करे उसको भी सिकन्जे मे बन्द कीजिये। मैं विश्वास दिलाता हू कि यह वह तरीका है जिससे हम देश का आगे ला सकते है।

नेहरू जी ने कहा था—

I would enter a blazing fire but I would not enter a home with my goal unattended.

मैं यह समझता हूं कि यह परीक्षा का समय है—हमे इस 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के साथ साथ कुछ अन्य बातों का भी, जिनकी मैने अभी चर्चा की है, लागू करना चाहिये। नियम और आदर्श ना कभी भी जारी किये जा सकते है, लेकिन कठोरता से उन का अनुपालन किया जाय—तभी वे सफल हो सकते है। देश के अन्दर कुछ काम ऐसे हैं जिनका तेजी से करने की जरूरत है—जैसे जमीनो का मामला, सीलिंग का मामला। जो बातें मेरे अन्य मित्रो ने कही है मैं उनको दोहराना नहीं चाहता, लेकिन अपने इस परीक्षा काल मे हम तभी सफल हो सकते है, जब कि हम मेहनत से काम करे।

SHRI D. N TIWARY (Gopalganj): The Prime Minister was good enough to give to the country the 20-point programme. Although this is not new and many good programmes were formulated in the past they all flounder-

[Shri D. N. Tiwary]

ed on the stage of implementation. We could not implement those programmes fully and hence there was a stalemate in eradicating the economic and other evils, arising from them. Now, taking advantage of this emergency this 20-point programme put forward by the Prime Minister should be implemented and if we fail at this stage, then, the country is doomed. The Government has ample power now, all powers considered necessary to implement these programmes. The criteria we must put before ourselves should be as Gandhiji said:

"We should be ashamed of resting or having a square meal so long as there is one able-bodied man or woman without work or food."

This should be our aim. This should be our goal. Even if there is a single man who is not fully fed or who does not get work, we should not rest content.

At this stage we should look back and have full appraisal of the achievements or failures in respect of past programmes so that we may avoid the pitfalls and we may also know the causes of non-achievement of targets. No doubt we have made tremendous advance in many fields in the past but it is also true that we have lagged behind in some vital sectors. Power production, unemployment, eradication of poverty, rise in prices of essential commodities, removal of imbalances on regional basis, etc. We have miserably failed on the above-mentioned fronts. The imbalance among States as also among the districts in the same State is enormous. Some districts in various States have been named as 'backward Districts'. We are yet to know how much progress has been made in those districts. We do not see any tangible improvement in the backward districts of Bihar. In a way, the whole State of Bihar is backward. This can be very well known by comparing the *per capita* income of Bihar with other States; it is last but one. No country can be strong while many of its limbs are very weak. As in the case of backward and depressed communities special arrangements are made for their well being so also, in the case of backward States, special arrangements should be made to bring them on par with advance States.

There is defect in our planning. Although the intention of the Government was to plan from below but the actual state is that plan has been made from top. Block people do not know how plan has been formulated. Thus there is no actual participation of people in the framing of the Plan. This is a great draw-back in the Plan preparation. When our people will learn, to spell out their actual requirements and fix priorities?

Another moot point is whether disparities between the rich and poor have decreased. I do not agree with those who say that rich have become richer and poor poorer but the disparities between the rich and poor have grown enormously.

Now, I come to the State of Bihar. There is scarcity in plenty. Has the Finance Minister ever considered the causes of this irony of fate? If proper care had been taken, today Bihar would have been a blooming garden of India. Then again Bihar is divided in three parts—North Bihar, South Bihar and Chhotanagpur. None of these is in good shape. They are nowhere near the advanced States of the country. The case of North Bihar deserves special mention. This part of Bihar along with eastern districts of U.P. is the most backward area in the whole of the country. The *per capita* income here is Rs. 150 per annum. The population of this area is more than three crores which is bigger than the States of Haryana, Punjab, Assam, Orissa, Kerala and even Rajasthan. Dependence on land has increased from 78 per cent in the First

Plan to 82 per cent in 1972. Agricultural land here is very good but this area becomes prey to drought and flood every year and as such, the condition of the people has become very misreable. The irrigation facility is also very meagre.

May I ask the Finance Minister to tell me what special measures and steps are being envisaged in this 21-point programme to improve the condition of this area?

Sir, if I give a few instances of the backwardness of Bihar it will be enough. In Bihar, out of every 100 persons employed, in the State, only 2.6 are employed in manufacturing industries as against an overage of 4.2 in the country. There were only 2.79 lakh factory workers in Bihar in 1970 against 10.03 lakhs in Maharashtra, 8.40 lakhs in West Bengal, 4.38 lakhs in Gujarat and 4.21 lakhs in Tamil Nadu. This has remained an irony and contradiction in the life of Bihar; it is the richest among the States of the country in terms of mineral resources and industrial potential. Yet, it is the most industrially backward region in the country. This has been the fate of Bihar for many years.

Now, Sir, I would draw the special attention of the Finance Minister to do something for this area otherwise we shall remain always backward and if one or two limbs of the body remain weak the whole body will be weak and we cannot face the challanges of the time.

I would suggest two or three things for implementation. About irrigation and power projects I would suggest that those projects which have remained uncompleted for the last eight to ten years should be completed first. Before taking up any new project, let the old projects be completed because we have invested large amount of money and they are not giving results. What is the use of taking up new projects without getting any results? New projects will give benefit after a few years. If the old projects are implemented within, say, six months' or a year, we will begin to get the benefits from them. Your revenue will also increase by that Government should see that before taking up new projects, old projects are completed.

About industralisation of Bihar, I would make the following suggestions. In North Bihar, there is no industry worth the name, except a few outmoded sugar factories. The people of North Bihar have to depend mainly on agriculture or migrate to Bengal or some other places for taking cooly jobs.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: Has South Bihar made progress with all the industries?

SHRI D. N. TIWARY: All the industries are concentrated in Chhota Nagpur.

SHRI VASAN SATHE (Akola): Even then, it is backward.

SHRI D. N. TIWARY: Therefore, I say that Bihar has plenty of natural resources. We must find out what are the lacunae and what are the defects due to which we are not progressing.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: That is what we want to know from you, coming from Bihar.

विदेश मंत्री (श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण) : आप बता दीजिये न क्या लैकुना है।

श्री डी० एन० तिवारी : मैं तो बता दूं, लेकिन अच्छा नहीं रहेगा। बात यह है कि बिहार में जितने इंडस्ट्रियल रिसोर्सेज हैं वह एक्सप्लायट होते हैं दूसरी जगह के लोगों के द्वारा जो बडी बडी फैक्ट्रीज हैं उन में काम करने वाले भी बाहर के लोग हैं। स्थानीय लोगों को प्रीफ़रेंस नहीं मिलता। सरकार का जो आदेश है कि 500 रु० से नीचे के जौब स्थानीय लोगों को दिये जायें उस का भी पालन नही होता। यहां तक कुली भी

बाहर से ही बुलाये जाते हैं। तो बिहार की प्रगति कैसे होगी। मैं परोकियल नहीं हूं, आप देखिये एक भी बिहारी कहीं जनरल मैनेजर नहीं है। क्या बिहार में कोई आदमी ही नहीं है जनरल मैनेजर बनाने के लिये ? जो लोग इन्चार्ज होते है अपने अपने लोगों को देखते हैं और अपने अपने लोगों को इन्चार्ज बनाते हैं। ऐक्स फ़ाइनेंस मिनिस्टर बठे हुए हैं, नये वित्त मत्री भी बैठे हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि इन्हों ने क्या किया ? बकवर्ड जिलों को आप ने आइडेन्टीफ़ाई किया है, लेकिन क्या कभी देखा है कि मैंन जिलों में क्या होता है। क्या कभी कोई नई इँडस्ट्री लगी हैं ?

श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण : इँडस्ट्री लगने के लिये टैक्सेशन में ऐग्ज़ेम्पशन फ़ाइनेंस मिनिस्ट्री देती है, वह दे दिया।

श्री डी० एन० तिवारी : एग्जेम्पशन देने से ही काम नहीं चलता है। हमारे पास पैसा नहीं है तो इँडस्ट्री कैसे लगा सकते हैं। उस के लिये पैसा आप को ही देना होगा। यह ठीक है कि बम्बई, मद्रास, कलकत्ता और कानपुर में लोगों के पास पैसा है, ब्लैक मनी काफ़ी है जिस की वजह से वह लोग उद्योग लगा सकते है। लेकिन जब हमारे यहा पर्कैपिटा इन्कम 125 रु०, 150 रु० है तो क्या उम्मीद करते हैं कि लाखों रु० की इन्डस्ट्री लगा लेगे? कहा से पैसा लाये ?

You have to come forward and help us. But, you are not doing it. All the Finance Ministers in the past have failed. I do not know how far the present Finance Minister will succeed.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : कभी कभी मेरी तरफ़ भी देख लिया करें।

श्री डी० एन० तिवारी : बात यह हैं कि बोझ इन लोगों से मिलनी है और इन से ही राहत मिलेगी, इसलिए इन की तरफ़ देख रहा हूं। आपकी तरफ़ भी देखता हूं क्योंकि आप बोलने की इजाजत देते हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अगर फ़ैसला इन बातों से हो सकता है तो I do not come in. But the procedure is to look to the Chair.

THE MINISTER OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS (SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA): Try not to fail—that is what he is saying.

श्री डी० एन० तिवारी : जहां तक इस 20 प्वाइन्ट प्रोग्राम का सम्बन्ध है, सब पावर आप के हाथ में है और आप इस को इम्पलीमेंट करा सकते है। इस में सब से पहला कर्तव्य आप का यह होना चाहिए कि जो प्रोग्राम आप बनाए, वह पूरा होना चाहिए और उस के जितने टार्गेट्स है, वे पूरे होने चाहिए।

दूसरी बात यह है जैसा कि मैंने पहले कहा है कि जितने प्रोग्राम्स, जितने प्रोजेक्ट्स आप ने हाथ में लिये है, उन को पहले कम्पलीट करायें और तीसरी बात यह है कि रीजनल इम्बलेंसेज जो है, उन को दूर करने की कोशिश कीजिए। उन को दूर करने के लिए आप को अधिक तवज्जह देनी होगी और अधिक केयर करनी होगी। ऐसे ही कागज पर लिख देने से कुछ होता नहीं है। इस को करने के लिए आमादा नहीं होइएगा तो कुछ नही हो सकता और डिस्पेरिटी और बढती जाएगी। दूसरी स्टेट्स आगे बढती जाएँगी और ईस्टर्न यू० पी० और नार्थ बिहार और पीछे होते चले जाएंगे, जिस तरह से हम ने देखा कि धनी लोग और धनी हो गये और गरीबों के लिए अगर कुछ हुआ भी, तो भी डिस्पेरिटी और बढ़ गई और वे कभी ऊपर नही उठ सके। वैसे ही दूसरी जो स्टेट्स है वे इतना आगे बढ जाएँगी कि जितनी भी कोशिश हम करें उन के बराबर नही आ सकेंगे और उन से कम ही रहेंगे जब तक कि आप कोशिश कर के और प्रयत्न कर के यह न तय कीजिए कि हम को

इतनी अधिक मदद करती है कि हम उन के बराबर आ सकें ।

चौथी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि इस 20 प्वाइन्ट प्रोग्राम को इम्पलीमेंट करने में सब से एर्वेसियल क्या चीज है, उस का पहले लेना चाहिए । आप पहले प्रायरटी तय कीजिए कि किस चीज को हमें पहले करना है और किन का बाद में । मेरा इस सम्बन्ध में यह कहना है कि अधिकतर लोग इस देश में एग्रीकल्चर पर निर्भर करते है तो पहली प्रायरटी आप को एग्रीकल्चर और उससे सम्बन्धित जो चीजें हैं, उन को देनी चाहिए, जैसे कि इरीगेशन का मामला हैं ।

हमारे यहां गंडक प्राजेक्ट है । उस का काम 15 वर्ष से चल रहा है । पहले शुरू शुरू में 36 करोड रुपये का उस का इस्टीमेट था लेकिन अब बढ कर वह 1 अरब 28 करोड़ रुपये का हो गया है और अभी तक वह आधा भी पूरा नहीं हुआ है । हम 100 करोड़ रुपये से अधिक उस पर लगा चुके हैं और 15 वर्ष से वह पड़ा हुआ है और कोई फ़ायदा उस से नही हुआ है । गृहस्थों की 10,000 एकड से ज्यादा जमीन ले ली गई है और 15 साल से वह जमीन परती पड़ी हुई है । उस पर कोई फ़सल नहीं होती है । अगर उस पर थोडी भी फ़सल होती, तो लाखों मन अनाज आप को मिल जाता । स्टेटों के बीच में कोई समझौता नहीं हो रहा है या पैसा नहीं दे रहे हैं, क्या हो रहा है, समझ में नहीं आता ।

पावर की हालत यह है कि पावर प्रोजेक्ट्स बिहार में सब से कम हैं और वहां पर पर-कैपिटा कन्जम्पशन 19 यूनिट है जबकि मद्रास में 100 यूनिट से ज्यादा है । आप हम को उतना न दें तो कम से कम एक-चौथाई 25 यूनिट तो कर दें । अगर आपने ऐसा किया तो हम समझेंगे कि आप ने कुछ किया है । एक सेन्ट्रल स्कीम वहां पर चालू होनी थी, लेकिन उस को भी उठा कर आप दूसरी जगह ले गये । आप कहते हैं कि क्या करें । एक सेन्ट्रल स्कीम मुजफ़्फ़रपुर या कटिहार में बनने वाली थी । उस को भी आप बंगाल ले गये । हम को बंगाल से चिढ़ नहीं है लेकिन आप हम को भी दीजिए । हमारी स्टेट एक बैकवर्ड स्टेट है । जो हम को मिला था, वह भी आप हम से छीन रहे हैं । इस तरह से हमारी बैकवर्डनेस कैसे दूर होगी इस पर आप जरा ख्याल कीजिए । इसलिए हम को जो दिया जाता है वह हम से छीना न जाए और मैं तो कहूँगा कि जो और स्टेट्स को मिला है, उस का आधा ही हमें मिल जाए । हम नहीं चाहते कि हम मद्रास के समान हों या बंगाल के सामन हो जाएँ, लेकिन कम से कम 50 परसेंट तो हम रहें, नहीं तो हमारा उद्धार कैसे होगा । हमारे यहां के लोग मेहनती हैं और जमीन भी अच्छी है । अगर हमारे यहां पावर और इरीगेशन का प्रावधान हो जाए, तो हम न केवल सैल्फ-सर्पोटिंग ही हो जाएँ बल्कि कुछ आप को कन्ट्रीब्यूट भी कर सकते हैं, जनरल पूल में ।

अन्त में मैं यही कहूँगा कि नौर्थ बिहार में क्योंकि इंडस्ट्रीज बहुत ज्यादा नहीं हैं, इसलिए वहां पर प्रायरटी दे कर, वहां पर आप को अधिक धन की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए जिस से लोगों की ग़रीबी दूर हो सके ।

श्री सरजू पांडे (गाजीपुर) : अध्यक्ष जी, इस सदन में लगभग तीन दिनों से इस 20 प्वाइन्ट प्रोग्राम पर बहस चल रही है और इस पर काफ़ी चर्चा हो चुकी है और सदन में इस के बारे में काफी कहा गया है । यों तो मेरा ख्याल है कि अवाडी सम्मेलन में कांग्रेस ने एक प्रस्ताव पास किया था कि हिन्दुस्तान का आर्थिक ढांचा समाजवादी होगा और उस सिलसिले में थोड़े बहुत काम भी हुए हैं मगर सही माइनों में हम देश में

[श्री सरजू पांडे]

समाजवादी आर्थिक दिशा को नहीं ला सके। इस सम्बन्ध में बहुत से लोगों ने कहा है मगर मुझे आश्चर्य यह है कि काफ़ी दिनों के बाद भी बार बार इस सदन में और बाहर भी पंडित नेहरू के जमाने से आश्वासन दिये गये इस सदन को भी और जनता को भी, मगर मुझे अफ़सोस है कि उस सिलसिले में अभी तक कोई काम नहीं हुआ है।

जिस दिन से इस प्रोग्राम का एलान हुआ है, मुझे ऐसा मालूम नहीं कि इस दिशा में काम हुआ है या नहीं हुआ है लेकिन मैं अपने यहां की बात आप को बताऊंगा कि अभी तक वहां पर जमीन के बटवारे का काम नहीं हुआ है और न दूसरे कामों पर अमल शुरू हुआ है और जगह जगह पर यहां तक कि बटवारे की बात तो दूर रही, जिन लोगों ने जमीन पर नाजायज अधिकार किया हुआ है, उस दिशा में कोई कर्यवाही नहीं हुई है। जब से हमारे देश में आपातकालीन स्थिति की घोषणा हुई हैं, हम तमाम लोगों ने, हमारी पार्टी ने और मजदूर वर्ग के लोगों ने इस बात का आश्वासन दिया है कि हम लोग इस प्रोग्राम का समर्थन करते हैं, मगर मिल-मालिकों ने जबानी आश्वासन तो दे दिया है लेकिन उस पर अमल नहीं किया है और कानपुर में मिलें बन्द पड़ी हुई हैं। मेरे साथी श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त ने बहुत सारी मिसालें सदन के सामने रखी हैं जहां पर ले-आफ़ हुआ है और मजदूरों की छटनी काफ़ी हुई हैं। इसलिए सब से बड़ी बात यह है कि अगर हम देश की जनता में यह विश्वास नहीं ला सके कि जो बातें हम कह रहे है, वे पूरी होंगी, तो कोई काम नहीं बनेगा। पिछले दिनों जब इमर्जेन्सी शुरू हुई थी, तो कुछ चीजों के दाम गिरने शुरू हुए थे लेकिन अब फिर दाम बढ़ने शुरू हो गये हैं। चीनी के दाम बढ़ गए हैं। अनाजों के दामों में कोई खास गिरावट नहीं आई है। जलाने वाले कोयले के दाम तो नहीं दूसरी प्रकार के कोयले के दाम बढ़ गए हैं, बिल्डिंग मैटीरियल महंगा हो गया है, कपड़े के दामों में कोई कमी नहीं हुई। शुरू शुरू में तमाम हिन्दुस्तान में जो एक आशा बंधी थी वह आशा अब फिर निराशा में का रूप लेती जा रही है। लोगों कहने लगे गए हैं कि जो यह जो यह कहा जाता था कि कुछ होने वाला है, अब शायद कुछ होगा नहीं। कारण यह है कि उनका बरसों का यही तजुर्बा रहा है। सरकार वादे तो बहुत करती आई है लेकिन बहुत कम वादो को उसने पूरा किया है। यह भी कहा गया था कि स्कूल कालेजों के बच्चों को जिस सामान की जरूरत होती है उसको सस्ते में सुलभ किया जाएगा वैसा भी नहीं हो पाया है, कोई खास कमी उस सामान की कीमत में नहीं हुई है। मामूली सा परिवर्तन तो दिखाई दिया है लेकिन कोई खास परिवर्तन हुआ है।

12 hrs.

सब से बड़ी बात यह है कि इस एमरजेंसी में छोटे दूकानदार की परेशानियां बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ गई हैं। एक आदमी हजारों तरह का सामान रखता है। उस सब सामान की लिस्ट बनाना उसके लिए सम्भव नहीं है। वह खुद पढ़ा लिखा नहीं होता है। इसके लिए उसको अलग से नौकर रखना पड़ता है। इस अपराध में बहुत से लोगों को पकड़ कर जेलों में बन्द कर दिया गया है। एक मामूली धनिया, जीरा आदि बेचने वाला जो छोटा व्यापारी है उसके पास हजारों किस्म की चीजें रहती है। अब वह कितनी किस्मों को लिस्ट बनाए। उसको चीजों के दाम लिखने के लिए मजबूर करना और जेल भेज देना ठीक नहीं है। इससे दूकानदारों को जो छोटे हैं परेशानियां बहुत बढ़ गई हैं। जो राइट रिएकशनरी लोग हैं, जो प्रति क्रियावादी तत्व हैं उन्होंने देश में ऐसी स्थिति उत्पन्न कर दी थी जिससे कोई कानून और व्यवस्था न रहे। उससे मजबूर हो कर आपको एमरजेंसी घोषित करनी पड़ी। लेकिन जो लोगों की

वास्तविक कठिनाइयां हैं, उनको देखा जाना चाहिये और उनका हल निकाला जाना चाहिए। बिना समाजवाद लाए हुए हमारी जो समस्यायें हैं वे हल नहीं हो सकती हैं, दुनिया में किसी की नहीं हुई हैं। आप न महंगाई पर काबू पा सके है और न ही बेकारी की समस्या को दूर कर पाए हैं। बेकारी को दूर करने के वास्ते आपने कोई प्रोग्राम नहीं बनाया है। यह एक ज्वलन्त समस्या है जो मुंह बाए खड़ी है। मेरा अनुमान यह है कि स्कूल कालेजों से निकले हुए दो करोड़ लोग होंगे जिन के पास कोई काम नही है।

मैं आपके सामने पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश की बात रखना चाहता हूं। आज भी वहां पर लोग गोबरहा खाते हैं। हरिजन लोग, गरीब लोग मवशी जो अनाज खाते है और बाद में जिसको वे पाखाने के रास्ते निकालते हैं उसको वे लोग, हरिजन लोग, गरीब लोग धो कर खाते है। यह प्रश्न इस सदन में कई बार उठाया गया है। उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी हिस्सों का विकास किस प्रकार से हो सकता है, इसके सुझाव देने के लिए पटेल आयोग की स्थापना की गई थी। उसने अपनी सिफारिशें आपके सामने पेश की लेकिन उनको इस आधार पर अमल में आप नहीं लाये कि आपके पास पैसा नहीं है। एक भी उसकी सिफारिश को आपने लागू नहीं किया। हमारे यहां आज भी जो खेत पर काम करता है उसको सोलह आने रोज की मजदूरी मिलती है। शेरपुर गांव में जो घटना घटी है उसका समाचार आपने अखबारों में पढ़ा ही होगा। आज भी वहां गरीब आदमियों को बंधक रखा जाता है एक बार जिस ने कर्ज ले लिया सालों तक उसका उस कर्ज से छुटकारा नहीं हो सकता है। खेत मजदूरों के कर्ज आपने माफ किए हैं। इसका सब ने स्वागत किया है और यह एक बहुत अच्छा कदम था। लेकिन अब तो उनकी मुसीबत का कोई ठिकाना ही नहीं है। अब उसको गांव में कोई कर्ज देने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। पहले वह कर्ज के सहारे जिन्दा रह लेता था लेकिन अब वह बात भी नहीं रही। आपने कहा है कि गांवों में उनको कर्ज देने के लिए बैंकों की शाखाएं खोली जाएंगी। पता नहीं कब खुलेंगी और कब उनको कर्जा मिलेगा। उनको जरूरत आज की है। आज वे किस के दरवाजे पर जाएं। कहां से वे खाने पीने का सामान लें। वक्त पर अगर कदम उठाया नहीं जाता है तो उसका कोई लाभ नहीं होगा।

आपने अखबारों में पढ़ा होगा कि उत्तर प्रदेश की कैबिनट ने यह फैसला किया है कि शेरपुर गांव में जा कर लोगों को समझाया जाए और वहां लोगों में आपस में अच्छे सम्बन्ध पैदा किए जाएं। यह कैसे सम्भव हो सकता है। मैं जानता हूं कि जहां जहां गरीब लोग मजदूरी बढ़ाने की मांग करते हैं, सामन्तों से लड़ने की बात करते हैं, उनको नक्सलाइट घोषित कर दिया जाता है और ऐसा करने के बाद उनका दमन किया जाता है। बिहार तथा उत्तर प्रदेश में यही हो रहा है। उसको तुरन्त पकड़ कर बन्द कर दिया गया है या उसको मार डाला गया है। यही हालत वहां आज भी विद्यमान है।

मैं समझता हूं कि बातों का नहीं एकशन लेने का यह वक्त है। जो बात आप कहते हैं उसको आप तुरन्त अमल में लाएं। तिवारी जी ने बिहार का जिक्र किया है। हमारी उत्तर प्रदेश में 35 जिले पिछड़े हुए हैं। सब से पिछड़ा हुआ इलाका अगर कोई है तो वह पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश है। वहां खाने पीने को लोगों को नहीं मिलता है। लोगों के पास रहने के लिए जमीन नहीं है। तमाम तरह की झूठी बातें और आंकड़े, अधिकारी आपके पास भेज देते हैं। मैं आपको अपने जिले की बात बता सकता हूं। वहां एक इंच जमीन का बंटवारा भी आज तक पिछले साल से नहीं हुआ है। लेकिन सरकार के पास झूठे आंकड़े इसके भेज दिए जाते हैं। एक कमेटी वहां जमीन के बंटवारे के लिए बनाई गई है। मैं उस कमेटी को मौके पर ले गया था और उसको मैंने दिखाया कि कैसे लोगों ने अनधिकृत तौर

[श्री सरजू पांडे]

पर जमीनों पर कब्जा किया है और उस सिलसिले में कोई काम नहीं हुआ है। देश की हालत आज बहुत ही खराब है। एमरजेंसी के बाद ऐसे लोग जो कानून को अपने हाथ में ले लेते हैं, उन पर थोड़ा बहुत अंकुश जरूर लगा है लेकिन जरूरत इस बात की है कि उनकी मूल वृत्ति को समाप्त किया जाए। प्रधान मंत्री ने जिस प्रोग्राम की घोषणा की है उस पर तुरन्त अमल होना चाहिये। जनता को आप लाठी डंडे के बल पर कब तक दबाए रख सकते हैं, कितने दिन तक उनको जेलों में डाल कर रख सकते हैं। यह इतना आसान नहीं है। जब तक आर्थिक सुधार नहीं होगा तब तक कोई लाठी डंडे और जेल खाने में लोगों को डाल कर अगर यह समझते हैं कि काम चला लेंगे तो वह नहीं हो सकेगा। इस वास्ते जरूरी यह है कि आर्थिक सुधार आप लाएं।

आप देखें कि रेलवे स्ट्राइक कब की खत्म हो गई है। तमाम लोग काम पर लौट आए थे। किसी तरह की कोई गड़बड़ी रेलों में नहीं थी। फिर भी नार्थ ईस्टर्न रेलवे पर डेढ़ सौ आदमियों को नौकरी से निकाल दिया गया है और कहा यह गया है कि ये लोग लोगों को काम करने से मना कर रहे थे। यह बिल्कुल झूठा और बेबुनियाद आरोप है। आर०एस० एस० जनसंघ और आनन्द मार्ग से सम्बन्धित अधिकारियों को खुली छूट दे दी गई है। खास तौर से आई० एन० टी० यू० सी० के कार्यकर्ता जिन के बारे में उनको मालूम है कि इनको खरीदा नहीं जा सकता है, ये अफसरों की चापलूसी नहीं कर सकते हैं, उनको निकाला जा रहा है। दूसरे विभागों में भी यही हाल है। ए० आई० टी० यू० सी० के लोगों को निकाला जा रहा है। जिन लोगों से कहा था कि सारे इस प्रोग्राम को पूरा करेंगे मेहनत से काम करेंगे और कर रहे थे उनको निकाला जा रहा है। सैकड़ों आदमी रेलों में निकाले जा चुके हैं। मैंने चार अफ़सरों के नाम लिख कर प्रधान मंत्री के पास भेजे हैं लेकिन उनके खिलाफ़ कोई कारवाई नहीं हुई है। पता नहीं जांच पड़ताल होगी उनके खिलाफ़ या नहीं। सब से ज्यादा आश्चर्य की बात यह है कि हम लोगों ने जिन्होंने इस कार्यक्रम का समर्थन किया है हम जनता में जा नहीं सकते हैं, सभाएं कर नहीं सकते हैं। कहा जाता है कि घरों में मीटिंग कर लोगों को हम बताएं। अब आप बताएं कि घरों में कितने आदमी आ सकते हैं और मीटिंग कर सकते हैं। जो प्रोग्रैसिव पालिसीज़ हैं उनको जनता में ले जाने का तथा उसको उनके बारे में बताने का जब तक मौका नहीं मिलेगा तब तक कैसे काम हो सकेगा। जबान बन्द करके रखें इससे तो काम नहीं चलेगा। आप चाहते हैं कि ब्यूरोक्रेसी के जरिये सारा काम हो तो ऐसा होना सम्भव नहीं है। उसका समाजवाद से कोई नाता नहीं है। वह समाजवाद लफ़्ज जानती भी नहीं है। हम लोगों से मुलाकात उसकी होती है तो उलटे बहस करती है कि—इससे क्या हो सकता है। यह समाजवाद को कभी लागू नहीं कर सकती है। हम लोग यहा कानून बनाते हैं कि जमीन उनको दी जाए जो भूमिहीन है लेकिन जब हम देखते हैं तो पाते हैं कि ब्यूरोक्रेसी द्वारा गांवों में जा कर उनको जमीन दे दी जाती है जो बड़े बडे लोग है जिन के पास पहले से ही काफ़ी जमीन है और जिन के पास कोई जमीन नही है उनको जमीन नहीं दी जाती है। इनके द्वारा कानून का डिसटार्शन किया जाता है। जब तक आपके अन्दर राजनीतिक क्षमता और विल न हो तब तक इस कायक्रम को लागू नहीं किया जा सकता है। जो इनको अमल में लाने वाले हैं उनका इस में यकीन होना बहुत जरूरी है। बिना इसके वे अमल में नहीं ला सकते हैं। यह मशीनरी पुरानी पड़ चुकी है। पुलिस रेवेन्यू अफ़सर आदि लोग जिन का समाज से कोई नाता नहीं है जो समाजवाद को जानते नहीं हैं दिन भर बैठे बैठे उलटी बात सोचते हैं और उलटी तरह से लोगों को समझाते की कोशिश करते हैं वे समाजवाद नहीं ला सकते हैं। इसके लिए जरूरी है कि पापूलर

कसेटीव बनाई जाएं और उनकी देखरेख में काम हो। आज तक प्रोग्राम जो बनते रहे हैं वे ब्यूरोक्रेसी द्वारा अमल में लाए जाते रहे हैं और उनका कोई फल नहीं निकला। अगर इन बाधों को दूर करना है तो हम लोगों को इस बारे में अतिशीघ्र कदम उठाना चाहिए। इमर्जेन्सी को लगे हुए एक महीने से ज्यादा हो गया है। गांव के लोग पूछते हैं कि आखिर इस 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम पर अमल कब होगा।

श्री गेंदासिंह सदन में बैठे हुए हैं। वह जीवन भर इस बात के लिए लड़ते रहे हैं कि चीनी मिलों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाये। चीनी मिल-मालिकों ने सारे पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश को लूट कर नंगा और गरीब कर दिया है। चीनी मिलों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करने के लिए इमर्जेन्सी ने एक अच्छा मौका प्रदान किया है। इस से अच्छा मौका कभी नहीं मिलेगा। श्री गेंदासिंह कहा करते हैं कि चीनी मिलों का राष्ट्रीयकरण उन के जीवन की आखिरी मुराद है। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि यह बहुत से लोगों की अखिरी मुराद है। इस लिए सरकार को उन मिलों को अपने हाथ में लेना चाहिए।

हम लोगों का तजुर्बा है कि ब्यूरोक्रेट्स नेशनलाइजेशन में यकीन नहीं करते हैं लेकिन उन्हीं लोगों को इन मिलों का प्रबन्धक बना कर भेज दिया जाता है। वे लोग इस बात की कोशिश करते हैं कि राष्ट्रीयकरण असफल और बदनाम हो जिस के परिणामस्वरूप उन मिलों को फ़िर से पूंजीपतियों को सौंप दिया जाये।

हमारे यहां बिजली का बहुत बड़ा संकट है। इस प्रोग्राम में बिजली का उत्पादन बढ़ाने की बात भी कही गई है। बिजली के टैक्स में वृद्धि कर दी गई है। हर किसान को 15 रुपये फी हार्सपावर टैक्स देना पड़ता है चाहे कोई बिजली न ले। गर वह किसी और काम के लिए बिजली लेता है तो उस को इस के अलावा देना पड़ता है। लेकिन इस बात की कोई गारंटी नहीं है कि बिजली कब मिलेगी। हालत यह है कि ट्यूबवैल या पम्पिंग सेट स्टार्ट करने के दो मिनट बाद ही बिजली बन्द हो जाती है। इस वजह से किसान बहुत परेशान हैं।

सरकार की ओर से मच्छर-मार अभियान, मलेरिया-विरोधी अभियान आदि कई अभियान चलाये जा रहे हैं। क्या यह जरूरी नहीं है कि उन में से कुछ फंड्स काट कर किसान को बिजली, खाद और पानी देने की व्यवस्था की जाये? इस लिए मंत्री महोदय से मेरा अनुरोध है कि वह दुनिया भर की और खुराफ़ात को बन्द कर, के गांवों को बिजली, खाद, पानी और सड़कें देने की तरफ़ कदम उठायें। इससे हमारी आधी से ज्यादा समस्यायें हल हो जायेंगी। आज हमारे किसान बहुत दुखी हैं। उन के टैक्स और परेशानियां बढ़ते जा रहे हैं, लेकिन सरकार का ध्यान उनकी तरफ़ नहीं है।

जब तक हमारे देश में गल्ले का उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ेगा, तब तक हम लोगों को रोटी नहीं दे सकेंगे। जो आदमी भूखा है, उस के दिमाग़ में कोई बात नहीं समा सकती है, भले ही हम उसको कितनी ही शिक्षा दें।

इस प्रोग्राम का देश भर में स्वागत हुआ है। आज सरकार को फिर मौका मिला है कि वह इस प्रोग्राम पर अमल कर के देश की जनता का विश्वास प्राप्त करे। आज शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में आमूल परिवर्तन की जरूरत है। बेरोजगारों को रोजगार देना आवश्यक है। हमने कई बार सुना है कि बेकार इंजीनियरों की कोआपरेटिव्ज बनाई जायेंगी और उन को बैंकों से पैसा मिलेगा। हमारे यहां एक बार ऐसी कोआपरेटिव बनाई गई। पैसा लेने के लिए रुपया जमा कराया गया, लेकिन एक महीने के बाद

[श्री सरजू पांडे]

कहा गया कि उन्हें पैसा नहीं दिया जायेगा।

इमर्जेन्सी का लाभ उठा कर मिल-मालिक मजदूरों को परेशान कर रहे हैं। सरकार को उन्हें रोकने का प्रयास करना चाहिए। सरकारी विभागों में बैठे हुए जो मगरमच्छ देश की तमाम मूल नीतियों के विरुद्ध काम करते हैं, उन के विरुद्ध भी कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए। मैं ने अखबार में पढ़ा है कि बहुत से सरकारी अफ़सर रिटायर कर दिये गये हैं। उस से क्या होगा? उन्होंने लाखों करोड़ों रुपये कमा लिये हैं। रिटायरमेंट के बाद उन को आराम हो गया। जब सरकार दूसरे लोगों को मीसा के अन्तर्गत पकडती है, तो क्या उन के लिए मीसा नहीं है? जिन लोगों ने देश का पैसा खाया है और देश के साथ गद्दारी है, जो भ्रष्टाचार के केन्द्र है, क्यों न उन्हें भी मीसा के अन्दर बंद कर दिया जाये।

मेरे साथियों ने यह आश्वासन दिया हैं, और मैं भी यह कहना चाहता हूं कि ग़रीबी को हटाने के लिए और इस 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम को लागू करने के लिए जो भी कदम उठाया जायेगा, हम उस में पूरा सहयोग और हर तरह की सहायता देंगे। मुझे आशा है कि आईन्दा दिनों में इस कार्यक्रम पर अमल करने का कार्य शुरू किया जायेगा।

श्री के० जी० देशमुख (अमरावती): अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम का स्वागत करने के लिए खडा हुआ हूं। कुछ विरोधी सदस्यों ने कहा है—जो यहा उपस्थित हैं, उन्होंने नहीं, बल्कि जो चले गये हैं, उन्होंने —कि इस कार्यक्रम में कोई नवीनता नहीं है, जैसे कांग्रेस पहले 10-सूत्री और 14-सूत्री कार्यक्रम लाती रही है, वैसे ही यह 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस कार्यक्रम के बहुत से सूत्रों को कांग्रेस बहुत पहले से स्वीकार कर चुकी है और उन को अमल में लाने के लिए कोशिश भी करती रही है। लेकिन यह 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम इमर्जेन्सी के समय लाया गया है, और जिस तेजी के साथ इस पर अमल किया जा रहा है, यहां इस की विशेषता है।

मैं आप के माध्यम से शासन को कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इस इमर्जेन्सी मे इस 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम को अमल में न लाया गया, तो शायद ऐसा मौका भविष्य में कभी नहीं आयेगा—ख़ासकर कांग्रेस पार्टी के लिए तो कभी नहीं आयेगा। इस लिए श्री सरजू पांडे और अन्य कम्युनिस्ट सदस्यों की यह बात बिल्कुल सही है कि इस कार्यक्रम पर अमल होना चाहिए, और अगर इस पर अमल न हुआ, तो इस की कोई कीमत नहीं रहेगी।

मैं ज्यादा समय नही लेना चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि इस कार्यक्रम में 20 सूत्र हैं, जब कि कांग्रेस के सदस्यों के लिए केवल दस दस मिनट का समय दिया गया है। आपोजीशन के सदस्यों के प्रति शायद स्पीकर साहब उदार रहते है। इस लिए मैं सभी 20 सूत्रों के बारे में नही बोलूगा, क्योंकि इस के लिए समय नही है। इस कार्यक्रम के 20 सूत्रों का मतलब यह है कि तमाम जनता की ग़रीबी को दूर किया जाये। प्रधान मंत्री ने "गरीबी हटाओ" का जो नारा दिया था, उस को हम पिछले चार साल में कामयाब नहीं कर सके हैं। उसी को कामयाब करने के लिए यह 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम लाया गया है।

आखिर देश की आम जनता क्या चाहती है? देश की प्रगति के लिए अन्य प्रोग्राम जरूर अच्छे हैं, लेकिन आम

जनता तीन चीजें चाहती है : रोटी, कपड़ा और निवास। ये तीन चीजें मनुष्य के लिए बहुत जरूरी हैं। इन को नेसेसिटीज आफ़ लाइफ़ कहते हैं। अगर ये तीनों चीजें देश की गरीब जनता को मिल जायें, तो बाकी के कार्यक्रम कम या ज्यादा पूरे न भी हों, तो जनता उन की विशेष फ़िक्र नहीं करेगी। इस लिए मैं केवल इन तीन सूत्रों के बारे में ही ज्यादा चर्चा करूंगा।

पहला सूत्र रोटी अर्थात् फूड के बारे में है। आज मनुष्य चांद पर पहुँच चुका है, विज्ञान ने बहुत प्रगति की है और हमने अन्तरिक्ष में भी कई चमत्कार देखे हैं। लेकिन कोई बड़े से बड़ा शास्त्रज्ञ भी अभी तक कृत्रिम भोजन या सिन्थेटिक फूड तैयार नहीं कर पाया है। सिन्थेटिक कपड़ा और अन्य कृत्रिम चीजें तैयार की गई हैं, लेकिन सिन्थेटिक फूड तैयार नहीं हो पाया है। कुछ ऐसी गोलिया जरूर तैयार की गई हैं, जिन से पेट भर जायेगा, लेकिन वे अनाज या रोटी का विकल्प नहीं हो सकती हैं। अगर रोटी का सवाल हल करना है, तो अनाज पैदा करने के लिए हमें कुदरत की जमीन की तरफ़ जाना पड़ेगा। आज तक जो प्लान्स बनाए गए उन प्लान्स में तो मैं कहूँगा कि जितना ध्यान उस तरफ देना चाहिए, अनाज पैदा करने के लिये उतना नहीं दिया गया। अगर दिया जाता तो पिछले 25 सालों के अंदर हिन्दुस्तान इस मामले में स्वयं पूर्ण हो जाता। आज भी हम देखते हैं कि अमेरिका और दूसरे देशों से हम को ऐसा अनाज मंगाना पड़ता है जो अनाज वहां के जानवर खाते है। जो माइलो यहां लाया जाता है जो देहात की गरीब जनता को दिया जाता है, शायद शहर के लोग नहीं जानते, लेकिन देहात के लोगों को मालूम है कि कंट्रोल से उन को क्या मिलता है जो दो घंटे लाइन में खड़े रहने के बाद उन को यही माइलो वहां से मिलता है और उस माइलो की जो रोटी बनती है वह कितनी निकृष्ट होती है वह सभी लोग जानते हैं।

मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इस देश की भूमि जो है वह उपजाऊ भूमि है। मैं कई देशों में हो कर आया हूं, अमेरीका की भी भूमि मैंने देखी है, आस्ट्रेलिया की भी देखी है, वह ज्यादातर खराब और कम उपजाऊ भूमि है। लेकिन वहां जो संशोधन हो रहे हैं, प्रयत्न हो रहे है, शासन की जो मदद हो रही है उस से उसकी उपज बढ़ गई है। यहां जो जमीन है विशेषकर उत्तरी भारत की, मध्य प्रदेश की, आन्ध्र की और तमिलनाडु की जो भूमि है उस भूमि में अगर सचमुच हमने कोशिश की और दुगना भी उत्पादन किया तो इस देश में अनाज की कमी नहीं होगी। लेकिन वह हो नहीं रहा है। मैं समझता हूं कि एमर्जेंसी में यह बहुत अच्छा वक्त आया है जबकि हम यह काम कर सकते हैं और इसके लिए जो-जो भी चीज चाहिए वह सब देनी चाहिए।

भूमि की सीलिंग के जो कायदे बनाए गए है उन का इम्प्लीमेंटेशन अभी तक नहीं हुआ। वह अब जरूर होगा, ऐसी उम्मीद है। जिस तेजी से स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स को प्रधान मंत्री की तरफ से पत्र गए हैं उन से उम्मीद है कि जल्दी ही यह काम होगा। लेकिन उतने से ही काम नहीं चलेगा। गरीब को भूमि देने से ही पैदावार नहीं बढ़ेगी। गरीब को भूमि देने के बाद जो उसमें बीज लगता है, खाद लगती है और उस से भी ज्यादा जो पैसा लगता है उस की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं हुई है और सीलिंग की जो हालत हम देख रहे हैं उसमें जो सरपलस लैंड मिलती है वह ज्यादातर बंजर मिलती है। वह हम दो चार दस एकड़ गरीब को देते है और उस से कहते है कि उपज बढ़ाओ। वह कैसे उस जमीन में अनाज उपजाएगा। उस गरीब काश्तकार के पास पैसा नहीं है, बीज नहीं है, खाद नहीं है। ऐसी हालत में पैदावार नहीं बढ़ सकेगी। तो खास करके

[श्री के० जी० देशमुख]

अभी तक जो मौका आया है इस में इन लोगों से आय को अगर पैदावार बढ़ानी है तो आपको इन सब चीजों से इन की मदद करनी पड़ेगी । ये जो कोआपरेटिव बैंकस और नेशनलाइज्ड बैंक्स हैं इनका इतिहास अगर देखो तो छोटे लोगों को इन्होंने कोई मदद नहीं की है । सारा पैसा जो गया है नेशनलाइज्ड बैंको का वह बड़े लोगों के पास गया है । कोआपरेटिव बैंको का पैसा दो एकड़ तीन एकड़ या पांच एकड़ तक काश्तकारों के पास बिल्कुल नही गया है । तो इस की व्यवस्था आज हमें करनी चाहिए ।

इसके बारे में ज्यादा वक्त न लेते हुए मैं अब कपड़े के बारे में निवेदन करना चाहता हूं । कपड़े के बारे में बड़े मजे की बात है सिन्थेटिक शायद इसमें निकल गया है । लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान में वह सिन्थेटिक कुछ चलेगा नहीं । यहां की क्लाइमेट ऐसी है कि टेरीलिन, टेरीकाट वगैरह से यहां काम चलेगा नहीं । गरीब जो है वे तो अपना सूती कपड़ा ही पहनते हैं और उस की हालत यह है कि सूती कपड़े का दाम, कंट्रोल के कपडे की बात नही तो छोड़ दीजिए और वह कंट्रोल का कपड़ा उन के पास तक जाना भी नहीं है, जो कपड़ा उनके पास जाता है उस का दाम पांच या छः रुपये मीटर से कम नही होता ।

दूसरी बात यह है कि कपास जो है जिस से कपड़ा बनता है उसका दाम गिरता जा रहा है । मैं उसी स्टेट से आता हूं जहां ज्यादा से ज्यादा कपास पैदा होती है—महाराष्ट्र । महाराष्ट्र और गुजरात के लोग जानते हैं कि कपास के भाव क्या हो गए हैं । सारा कपास का स्टाक पड़ा हुआ है और 15 लाख गाठें उस की वहां पड़ी हुई हैं, कोई उनको ले नहीं रहा है । महाराष्ट्र गवर्नमेंट ने जो उस के लिए स्कीम बनाई थी उसके वास्ते पैसा नहीं है उन को देने के लिए दो तीन साल पहले हालत यह थी कि दस-दस लाख गांठ कपास की बाहर से मंगाते थे और आज काश्तकार ने ज्यादा कपास अपने यहां पैदा की । उसको लेने के लिए कोई तैयार नहीं है । ऐसी विचित्र हालत है । एक तरफ कपड़े के दाम जो बढ़ रहे हैं उन को रोकना है और कंट्रोल का कपड़ा जो है वह हमें ज्यादा से ज्यादा निकालना चाहिए । क्यों इस देश में सुपर फाइन और फाइन कपड़ा निकालते हैं । इस सब को बन्द कर देना चाहिए । यह तो मेरी समझ में नही आता कि दो परसेंट लोग जो मर्सराइज्ड और सुपर फाइन कपड़ा पहनते है वह कपड़ा मिले ज्यादा से ज्यादा निकालती है क्योंकि उस में ज्यादा से ज्यादा मुनाफा निकलता है और 80 परसेंट गरीब जनता जिस कपडे को पहनती है वह कपडा कम से कम निकाला जाता है । इस चीज पर ज्यादा से ज्यादा ध्यान देना चाहिए ।

तीसरी समस्या है निवास की । निवास की बहुत खराब हालत है । देहात के जो बेचारे मजदूर है उनके रहने के लिए घर नहीं हैं और शहरो की हालत देखे, बम्बई शहर में हमने देखा कि दस लाख आदमी फूटपाथो पर सोते हैं । तो यह क्या दशा है ? इन के लिए कुछ कहने की आवश्यक्ता है । अगर इन के लिए घर भी नही है तो कौन सी सरप्लस भूमि हम उन को देंगे ? मेरी स्टेट महाराष्ट्र मे पिछले साल कुछ कोशिश की गई है देहात के लोगों को एक छोटा सा घर देने की और उसके लिए हर डिस्ट्रिक्ट में 1 हजार का टार्गेट बनाया । 27 डिस्ट्रिक्ट्स में 27 हजार का टार्गेट रखा उस में आधा पैसा महाराष्ट्र गवर्नमेंट ने दिया 25 प्रतिशत जिला परिषदों ने दिया और बाकी 25 प्रतिशत दूसरे स्रोतों से इकट्ठा किया । इस तरह उन को कुछ भी अपने पास से खर्च नहीं करना पड़ा । ऐसा कर के 27 हजार घर तैयार किए । तो इस तरह से यह काम हो सकता है । शहरों में और

देहातों में तमाम जगह इस दृष्टि से हमें देखना पड़ेगा कि जो आदमी आसमान के नीचे सोता है, जिस के पास रहने के लिए घर नहीं है, खाने के लिए अनाज नहीं है ऐसे आदमी को हम क्या समाजवाद देंगे और और वह कैसे हमारे पास आएगा? इसलिए इस तरफ विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं यह उम्मीद करता हूं कि वह यह 20 सूत्रीय जो कार्यक्रम है यह पूरा होगा और हम एमर्जेंसी में यह काम कर के दिखाएंगे। मैं इस का समर्थन करता हूं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब मिसेज वसंती श्याम तो हैं नहीं, और कुछ मेम्बर्स हैं, उन से मैं माफी मांगूगा कि वह थोड़ा बाद में बोलेंगे दो बुजर्ग हैं जो बड़ी देर से बैठे हैं और सेहत भी उन को अच्छी नहीं है तो मैं उन्हे पहले चाहता हूं कि वह बोल लें और चले जाएं डॉ० मेलकोटे और गेंदासिंह।

मैं बहुतों को छोड़ कर आप दोनों को ले रहा हूं। जिस को मर्जी हो आप में से, बोल लीजिए।

DR. G. S. MELKOTE (Hyderabad): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I heartily welcome the economic programme that has been announced by the Prime Minister and the Government and the Ordinance that has been promulgated. A new climate is prevalent in the country for the past one month or more, and those of us who know the situation that was being created and the atmosphere that was prevalent in the country during the past several years are happy that a welcome change is taking place. There is a proverb in all our vernaculars, *Arambhasura*. We start well and then slide back very quickly into complacency. The prices are coming down, no doubt, though not sufficient to hit the commonman's imagination. Even then he welcomes the small change that has taken place But under the Ordinance they expcet a good deal of effort and effect which should be welcomed by the house wives in the house.

12.30 hrs.

[SHRI C. M. STEPHEN *in the Chair*]

Sir, we have been hearing everywhere that government officers are reporting to duty punctually, that the trains are running to time, that, corruption is going down, the corrupt officers are being punished and that the blackmarketeers are being hauled up. Everything that is happening now is being welcomed by the people. This is a thing which should have come much earlier. But, even as it is today, we welcome it. Though late, it is better late than never.

We are now thinking and talking of the economic programmes. Several plans were placed before the country during the last 27 or 28 years. We started very well. Such of us who have been able to go round the world, in both very well developed as well as under-developed countries, countries which were under colonial domination and have now become independent, can compare our condition with the conditions obtaining in those countries. After making that comprison I should congratulate the people of India and the Government for the progress that they have been able to achieve during the last 27 or 28 years. I do not thing there has been any country in the world where, under the conditions that existed as the colonial rule in India, similar progress could have been made in such a short time. The progress that has been made by us is colossal in every direction—in agriculture, industry, education, health and so on. Let us not compare ourselves with China, Russia, Germany or Japan, because they were not under the heels of foreign domination. They were independent and their wealth was not plundered by the foreigners. We started from scratch and within 25 years the development that we have made is a respectable thing which no other country similarly situated could

[Dr. G. S. Melkote]

have achieved. All this has been very good.

What the people say is that something better could have been achieved. Something better could always be achieved. It was not done because the Government or the planners have failed, the people as well as the nation have failed. The planners did not execute or implement the plans properly and the Government failed to take recourse to certain methods which they are now taking by hauling up the black-marketers and others

It is extremely nice to find that within this one month there has been a new atmosphere of confidence, of ability to stand on our own legs, to come forward and face the situation and do better, an improvement in our character. But what is available today in the atmosphere, such situations did arise in the past. We had wars with our neighbouring countries, when Ordinances were promulgated, we did good work, there was industrial development and progress, more production in every direction and more work. But, then, as soon as the Ordinances came to an end, we reverted to the old condition. This is the thing which we have to be very careful about.

During this period I have been going round and meeting the people. I have come across certain things which have not come to the notice of the Government. We go to the market to purchase something and ask them for the price list But when we ask for an item mentioned in the price list, somebody from inside comes forward and says "I am sorry, that item is out of stock; it is sold out", which in other words means that he is not prepared to sell that material at that price. To safeguard himself, he has already prepared a bill and kept ready though he has not sold that item. All these things are taking place everywhere. People no doubt come in time but what is the turnover, the work that they have been doing in Government offices? Nobody seems to attend to this. They are sliding back again within the course of one month. This is occurring in every field of activity Student unrest is over. Do we permit them to go back to the same condition and not learn? The nation's morale has gone down in every field of activity. It is unnecessary to blame any particular party. Every one of us is culpable with regard to such things and, therefore, this is a very good opportunity for us to look round and see how we are going to manage our affairs in future. If that aspect of the question is not in the forefront of our mind, this ordinance will again be fruitless. It will again end in the same chaotic condition that we have seen all these years. Therefore, I would like to spell out a few things.

Hoteliers have brought down food prices by maybe five or ten or fifteen paise. Is that sufficient? Long back, in 1953 and 1955, when I was in England I found you could give a shilling, worth about ten annas, and take a plateful of 64 or 65 varities of foodstuffs with two slices of toast, and by paying a little more you could sit at the corner and eat a stomachful for less than one rupee. Is there any such scheme in India and does the poor man get this kind of facility,

SHRI C SUBRAMANIAM: What about today? At that time for two annas one could get wholesome meal in India.

DR. G. S. MELKOTE: It is not a question of ten or fifteen annas; it is a question of policy or method. Can a poor man go to some place where he can get well-cooked, nice, healthy and nutritious food, what he wants? If he cannot get this, what is the Government therefor? That is what he asks. Whether it is cloth or residential quarters or anything else, what are we doing to attend to the common man's needs,

The people in the ancillary industries come and tell me that the things they produce go to the bigger industries and so they are not available in the market. Suddenly overnight they

disappear. So, what is happening with production? On the one side you want to increase production, and on the other side the material is not available. There should be a cell in the industrial or labour sector where such complaints could be received and immediately attended to so that we get the material. Otherwise, our efforts will again prove fruitless. We will not be able to produce.

Such things are occurring even under the ordinance. These things do not come to your notice. It is the people who come in contact with the workers in the field who know these things. Hence, I am placing these things before you. Therefore, every aspect of the common man's needs has got to be attended to. There should be voluntary cooperation of the people to find out what difficulties the common man is facing and there should be a cell to which representation can be made and the position rectified immediately. If such a thing takes place, this ordinance would be effective and fruitful and many of the reliefs that the common man is seeking can be given.

I congratulate the Prime Minister again on this wonderful new atmosphere that has been brought about and I only hope that complacency will not prevail and that progress in the economic field will be sustained.

श्री गेंदा सिंह (पदरौना): चेयरमैन साहब, इन्दिरा जी ने एक बार फिर देश के गरीबों को आशा दिलाई है, देश के गरीबों के लिये कुछ कदम उठाने के लिये कहा है—इस के लिए मैं जितनी भी खुशी जाहिर करू कम है, मैं उन्हें हृदय से बधाई देना चाहता हू। वित्त मंत्री जी ने कुछ कन्क्रीट बातों को हमारे सामने रखा है। लेकिन मैं कुछ अन्य बातें आप के सामने रखना चाहता हू और अनुरोध करता हूं कि आप उन पर ध्यान दे।

सबसे पहली बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं—जिन बातों को पिछले 10 वर्षों से, 20 वर्षों से हम किसानों और मजदूरों को आश्वासन के रूप में कह आये हैं लेकिन व पूरी नहीं हुई हैं, हमें सब से पहले उन को पूरा करने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिये। यह ठीक है कि उन के पूरा न होने के कुछ कारण थे, जिन की वजह से देरी हुई, लेकिन अब समय आ गया है कि हमें उन का पूरा करना चाहिय। यह ठीक है कि सरकार के सामने कुछ कठिनाइयां होंगी, लेकिन उन कठिनाइयों को हमें पार करना होगा। मैं नाम लेकर कहना चाहता हूं—सुब्रह्मण्यम जी से मैं आशा करता हूं कि जो शुगर फैक्ट्रीज निजी क्षेत्र में लगी हुई हैं, उन की पूरी जानकारी शायद सरकार का नही आ पाती है, ये फैक्ट्रियां कहां लगी हुई है। ये वहां लगी हुई हैं जहां पहले नील की फैक्ट्रियां लगी हुई थीं। यह वह क्षेत्र है जहां अंग्रेज जुल्म ढाते थ, वहां का किसान-मजदूर उन जुल्मों को भूल नहीं सकता, जहा इफरात से गरीब मजदूर मिल सकते थे। 1917 में महात्मा गांधी जी ने सारे हिन्दुस्तान में उसी जगह का अपने सत्याग्रह के लिय चुना। मैं चम्पारन के बारे में कह रहा हूं। अभी हमारे श्री डी० एन० तिवारी जी ने उल्लेख किया—चम्पारन, तिरहुत और गोरखपुर ऐसे डिवीजन हैं जिन को एतिहासिक भूमि कहा जा सकता है। चम्पारन और चौराचौरी की घटनाये इतिहास प्रसिद्ध हैं जिन को कभी भूलाया नही जा सकता। मैं इस एमरजैन्सी के जमाने मे फिर से उन की याद दिलाना चाहता हूं। ये घनी आबादी के इलाके हैं, जमीनों की कमी है, नदियों की ज्यादती और सूखा—ये ऐसी चीज हैं जो इक्टठी होकर हम को मौत के मुह में डाल देती हैं। यह बात जरूर है कि हम ने देशद्रोह कभी नही किया, लेकिन वहां चम्पारन में खून वहां तो उस के पांच वर्ष बाद चौराचौरी की घटना हुई। उस के बाद अंग्रेजों की जगह पर वहां कौन आये? ये शुगर इण्डस्ट्रीज वाले वहां आये। शुगर वालों ने थोड़ा सा रुपया लगा कर अपनी इण्डस्ट्रीज को वहां खड़ा किया। उस जमाने में थोड़े से रुपये में ही शुगर इण्डस्ट्री को खड़ा

[श्री गेंदा सिंह]

किया जा सकता था, लेकिन उस से आज तक करोड़ों रुपया उन्होंने अपनी तिजोरी में डाला और उन करोड़ों रुपयों को अपने पास रखकर आज भी वे मालिक बने हुए हैं, लेकिन उस 25 लाख गरीब किसान को क्या मिला जो गन्ना पैदा कर के देता है, वह आज भी आधी गुलामी में फंसा हुआ है।

सरकार ने कई बार इस पर विचार किया, निश्चय किया कि इस परिपाटी को नहीं चलने देंगे। महाराष्ट्र में, कर्णाटक में और आप के यहां, सभापति महोदय, कोआपरेटिव फैक्ट्रीज बनी। कर्णाटक में एक कोआपरेटिव शुगर फैक्ट्री हुण्याक्षी है, उस के डायरैक्टर साहब आये थे। धोती-कुर्ता पहने हुए थे। उन्होंने बताया कि वे अपने यहां के किसानों को गन्ने का 18 रुपया क्विंटल देते हैं। लेकिन उत्तर प्रदेश या बिहार में क्या होता है? मैं तो सभापति जी, इस को बहुत अच्छी तरह से समझ चुका हूं— जब तक उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार में इन निजी शुगर फैक्ट्रीयों से छुट्टी नहीं दिलायेंगे, हमारे किसानों की कोई मदद नहीं हो सकती, किसान उन के चंगुल से बच नहीं सकता। इस लिये मैं बड़े अदब से अपने वित्त मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूं, वे पहले कृषि मंत्री भी थे, उन्होंने उस जमाने में कहा था कि हम कोई न कोई ऐसा उपाय निकालेंगे जिस से इस समस्या का समाधान होगा, लेकिन कोई उपाय नहीं निकला, इन फैक्ट्रियों के बारे में जो रिपोर्ट आई थीं, उस पर आज तक कोई फैसला नहीं हुआ। आज अब ऐसा युग आ गया है तब आप को फैसला करना चाहिये और सारे हिन्दुस्तान को एक धारा में लाइये। कम से कम इतना तो कर दीजिये कि जिस प्रकार अन्य प्रदेशों में कोआपरेटिव फैक्ट्रियां बनी हैं, उसी धारा में इन को ले आइये। हम नैशनलाइजेशन की बात कहते हैं। क्यों कहते हैं? इस लिये कि कोआपरेटिव बनाने के लिये हमारे पास पैसा नहीं है, जब तक आप इस को टेक-अप करेंगे, जब तक कोई उपाय होगा, हमारा किसान मरता रहा है, और आगे भी मरता रहेगा। हमारे राज्य मंत्री खान साहब भी आ गये हैं—अगर इन को आप अकेले में बुला कर पूछेंगे कि क्या मिल वाले इस लायक हैं कि उन को रखा जाय, तो वे भी वही बात कहेंगे जो मैं कह रहा हूं। केशव देव मालवीय भी मेरी ही बात का समर्थन करेंगे। इस लिये, श्रीमन् अब वह समय आ गया है, जब कि आप को कुछ न कुछ करना चाहिये।

अब दो-तीन बातें और कहना चाहता हूं। आप जनता को कपड़ा देने का वायदा करते हैं, लेकिन अभी हमारे एक भाई कह रहे थे कि आप की वितरण प्रणाली इतनी खराब है कि वह कपड़ा जिस आदमी को मिलना चाहिये, उस तक पहुंचने नहीं पाता है। इस लिये नहीं मिलता है कि जिस को कपड़ा मिलना चाहिये उस को नहीं पहुंच पाता। इस वितरण प्रणाली को दुरुस्त कीजिये। कपड़ा नहीं, अनाज आप बांटते हैं। क्या होता है अनाज का? मैं गांव का आदमी हूं इसलिये वहां की स्थिति को अच्छी तरह जानता हूं। जो दुकान वाला है वह 5 साल में हजारपति हो जाता है। वह केवल कमीशन पर ही काम नहीं करता है। चीनी बांटने का काम भी उसी को दे दिया है। चीनी जो गांव को मिलती है, माननीय मुल्की राज सैनी से अकेले में पूछिये वह बतायेंगे कि चीनी गांव में नहीं जाती है बल्कि जिला हैडक्वार्टर पर ही बिक जाती है जो ऊंचे दाम पर बाजार में बिकती है। अगर चीनी और अनाज का वितरण आप ठीक कर दें तो सब कुछ ठीक हो जाय। आप सप्लाई आफिस को ठीक करें। अब सप्लाई आफिस में अंधेरगर्दी मची हुई है। इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि वितरण व्यवस्था आप ठीक करें।

श्री इसहाक सम्भली (अमरोहा): यह सप्लाई आफिस को ठीक नहीं करेंगे। चीनी पहले 4 रु० 10 पैसे प्रति किलो पर आ गई थी, लेकिन आज उस का भाव 4.80

पैसे है जिस की रसीद मेरे पास हैं । यह नार्थ ब्लाक की एक दुकान की रसीद है ।

श्री गेंदा सिंह : आखिरी बात कह कर मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करूंगा । आप ने इस प्रोग्राम में मुनाफाखोरों को ठीक करने की बात कहीं नहीं कही है । अगर इन के खिलाफ़ कुछ नहीं करेंगे तो आप का कोई काम पूरा नहीं होगा । स्वराज्य के बाद इन देश के दुश्मनों ने दौलत नहीं कमाई, बल्कि डाका डाला है । मोनोपली कमीशन बैठ कर के रोज रोता है मैं अंग्रेजी ज्यादा नहीं जानता, लेकिन जो भी मैं पढ़ता हूं उस से स्पष्ट है कि कौन ऐसा है जिस को मोनोपली कमीशन ने नेकनामी दी हो । अगर इन को आपने काबू में नहीं लिया तो यह काम पूरा होने में संदेह है ।

अन्त में मैं कहूंगा कि आप की निगाह बड़ी तेज है, कोई आप की आंख में धूल नहीं झोंक सकता, आज अगर मुल्क में गरीबों की संख्या बड़ी है तो यह हमारे लिये और आप के लिये शर्म की बात है । गरीबों की संख्या बढ़ी और गरीबी बढ़ी । यह दोनों चीजें समाप्त होनी चाहियें । कुछ हिम्मत के साथ और साहस के साथ कीजिये, देश आप का साथ देगा ।

13.00 hrs.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA (Barmer): Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is too early to make any objective assessment of the emergency or the historical significance of the emergency. Still one should look at this historical turning point with some depth. Some rightist opposition leaders are trying to absolve themselves and escape from the responsibility of all their attempts to create chaos in this country by saying that Jayaparkash Narayan over-stepped his limits and he has been the cause for their incarceration. I think they are very mistaken: Jayaprakash Narayan and his associates were just a catalyst. They also say that all this emergency has been proclaimed to preserve the power of the Prime Minister alone. This again is a very mistaken understanding of the situation. They do not realise that Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi is only a chosen instrument of certain historical processes, of destiny and of some basic fundamental and far-reaching changes that are inevitable in our social structure.

What we have seen is only one aspect of the situation, the political aspect. The Opposition parties were determined to destroy the foundations of democracy and this proclamation of emergency is to prevent chaos and anarchy overtaking all of us.

It has been said that the Indian society is traditionally an open society. It is true that the Indian society has been traditionally open, tolerant, democratic and very deep. But let us not forget that this traditional openness, this traditional depth, the depth of a great vast ocean of human society that is India is contained by rigid, firm and rocky walls and some very firm foundations. What were these foundations and what were those rocks that contained the society? The caste system, a very rigid and inflexible caste system. A birth-oriented society, a society in which birth determined the status and the place of an individual, the station of the individual in the society. Non-expectancy of power. A layman could never dream that he could be a Raja or a Rani; Religion and fear of God, religious fear of the next world and certain moral values. Within this very rigid frame-work the Indian social order functioned. During the last so many years, gradually, one after another, all these walls have crumbled. The foundations have given way and the last wall that was trying to contain this social fabric, the wall of law and order, the wall of political stability, the wall of State authority, the well of the coercive machinery of the State, that would have crumbled if the Opposition had a free play. This emergency had pre-

[Shri Amrit Nahata].

vented that wall from crumbling. It prevented the tidal wave of anarchy from overtaking our entire system.

But, let us not forget to look at the other walls that have crumbled. Caste. The caste system was gradually disappearing. Fear of God was disappearing. The birth-oriented society was giving place to a society in which possession became everything. All norms of discipline, all norms of values, all norms of a traditional, social behaviour have vanished and there was anarchy and chaos in all aspects of our life, economic, financial, social, moral and political. Take the economic life of our country. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao was talking about textiles. Japan is not a socialist country. By law they have fixed 1000 standards of varieties of cloth and Japan is an affluent country. Here, in this backward, poor, developing country of ours we have one lakh varieties. Naturally any student of economics will tell you that with more varieties, lesser scale of production, the economies of scale do not operate. The costs are high. Millions of rupees are spent on advertisement. Then there is cross transportation. The cloth produced by Delhi Cloth Mills goes to Karnataka and Binny cloth comes to Delhi. There is considerable anarchy, total loot. I am entirely in agreement with Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao if semblance of discipline is to be injected in Textile economy, standardisation is necessary. I am not talking about nationalisation. In emergency we should bring in a sense of urgency, production with speed. We have to standardise textiles and bring down the costs. The quality of our textiles is comparable with any textile in the world. Since our costs are high we cannot export them. If we standardize it, the casts will come down and we will be in a position to export them.

There is chaos and anarchy in all aspects of economy. Thousands of tooth pastes, soaps, hair oil, medicines are there with different brand names and there is loot and plunder everywhere.

In trade, the traditional values of birth-oriented society, religion, morality and fear of God, they are all gone. Most obscene and vulgar styles of living have replaced that. If there is one thing for which I must congratulate the Finance Minister, if there is one thing to have enthused the workers it is this attack on this obscene and vulgar style of living which is found in flats, black money and all that. What a shameful living is it? An over-whelming majority is living in a pathetic condition. They are starving. A handful of people live in flats of marble with floors of silver and roofs of cutglass, with a number of air conditioners and what not. This is what I am referring to. That is the entire economic life apart from blackmarketing and profiteering.

We have been saying—produce more or perish. My friend from Maharashtra was telling you about the cotton growers. Two years back we imported super fine long staple cotton from Sudan worth Rs. 100 crores. Our farmers in Maharashtra, Gujarat and Punjab have been producing the finest cotton in this country. They invested capital, labour and knowhow, with the result that we did not import a naya paise worth of super fine high staple cotton from anywhere. We are importing medium cotton from Pakistan. In super fine cotton we have attained self-sufficiency. They made our country almost self-reliant in it. But what is the result? They have perished in actual practice because we have left the farmers, primary growers and cotton growers to the mercies of market mechanism. The result is not produce or perish but the result is produce and perish. We have to liberate the farmers from this market mechanism. We have to liberate consumers from the greed and the loot of the middleman. We have to liber-

ate the entire price mechanism from the free market mechanism which stands condemned the world over. I would recommend COCOYOC declaration to the Finance Minister. This is mankind's manifesto of the latter half of the 20th century. Market mechanism stands condemned in all the developing countries. All the walls which contain our society are crumbling. The foundations are crumbling. Emergency can temporarily help. For how long shall our Prime Minister stand with her back against the wall which is being attacked by the tidal waves of anarchy? We will have to build new walls and new foundations. In this world of today, capitalist laws and free-market mechanisms have proved their bankruptsy beyond doubt; they could not deliver the goods; they have failed to solve the problems of growth. So, the only walls, the only institutions, the only laws, the only values, which can contain this social order and prevent the onward surge of anarchy can be the institutions and values of socialism and nothing else. These are the values where the dignity of man is assured. This is a social order in which there is no exploitation of man by man, in which the means of production are owned by the State. Only in this context can we realise our objectives. Let us have our perspective and sense of direction before us, and the sense of history in clear terms. It is only in this context that we should view this magnificent 20-point programme. The implementation of this programme should have that sense of direction which is very necessary and by this we will be able to bring a new social order, a new India of our dreams. I say this, because, it is true, the emergency has instilled a sense of discipline and orderliness among our people. People are coming to offices in time. Students are going to schools in time. But it is only a mechanical observance of discipline. But, emergency has also given something else. People have heaved a sigh of relief. The entire population of the country has heaved a great sigh of relief, after this emergency. New hopes have arisen once again. A new revolution of expectation has gripped our population. But that is not all. What you should do is that you should involve the public spirited and the committed workers in the implementation of this 20-point programme. Mere climate of expectation and of discipline is not enough.

Therefore, Sir, what we need today is this. There should be a climate of enthusiasm and that can be generated only when we inspire the confidence among our workers and the people that this programme is a part of the larger programme, to build a new social order, a new India, a Socialist India. I don't dispute the great, the revolutionary and historical significance of this 20-point programme. But still it is a modest welfare programme, a relief programme.

My friend Mr. Genda Babu said, unless we nationalise sugar, unless growers are assured of fair price, unless standardisation takes place in textiles and jute growers get a fair price and we earn foreign exchange by exporting sugar and textiles, we may not achieve much. For all these things we must bring in some element of State regulation and discipline among these industries, which is very essential. Black money must be curbed. Tax evasion should be discouraged. A series of radical measures have to be taken. For long there has been a consensus in my party in favour of demonetisation. We should convince the people that we mean business. Therefore, this is not just a programme of relief to the poor man. This is very important, because after all, what are the tests of a progressive social order, what will stop the tendency towards anarchy? There should be law and order, yes; there should be social harmony, yes. There should be a social order, as I said, which releases, which liberates the creative energies of man. So, this relief programme will contribute a long way in

[Shri Amrit Nahata]

releasing those productive energies and creative forces of man. Liquidation of tax, land reforms, house sites, upward revision of wages are very major items and they should be implemented. They will enthuse the rural poor to produce more. We should also set up new institutions, new machineries for distributing the inputs and for giving finances. That is a must. And I am very glad that my leadership is engaged in the task of searching for such institutions and searching for such new structures which will involve the people in the task of distribution of finances, inputs and in the implementation of this programme.

But, Sir, as I said just now, we have to generate the climate of enthusiasm; we have also to restore the credibility in the people in the sense that we want to convince them that we really mean business. Example is better than propaganda. An ounce of example is more effective than tons of propaganda by All-India Radio. That is lacking. I am glad that the Congress President has now written to all my partymen and leaders that they should declare their land. But, Sir, it is not enough to observe the letter of the law. What is necessary is that we must observe the spirit of the law; we should set an example of austere living and we should declare our property. If our leaders also own three or four bungalows, they cannot inspire credibility in the people that we mean business. With these hopes I commend this Twenty Point Programme and I congratulate the Finance Minister for the sense of urgency which he has instilled at least in his ministry and also in other ministries. But, here I want to guard against one danger. One last sentence....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Nahata, you have taken much more time than what is allotted to other people. Please conclude.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA: One sentence I want to utter. The warning to our Ministers and other leaders is that now that there is no political challenge facing them, there is a real danger that they my relapse back into complacence.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Chirayinkil): Mr. Chairman, Sir, 20th June is a historic day. I must say it is a landmark in the history of our country.

Yesterday I was in my State—State of Kerala—where I found that there was a remarkable change in certain areas. In our State these months are called lean months and the prices have gone up and the people are in great difficulty to make both ends meet. I found that even in the villages the price of rice has come down to the extent of Rs. 1.20. It means, for a family with a minimum of Rs. 3 as their earning, naturally, there is a considerable change when there is reduction in the price structure especially in the lean months. This is one of the remarkable achievements after the proclamation of emergency. I do not want to go into detailed analysis with regard to this. There is a capitalistic propaganda machinery which is utilising this occasion to say that we have lost democracy. Here I want to ask a simple question. What do we mean by democracy? Is it exploitation of the poor? Definitely 'Not'. As a labour leader for the last twenty-five years, you are aware that the poor labourers—agricultural labourers—and the poor masses of our country which consist of 90 per cent of the entire population have been exploited—I say they have been continuously exploited by the feudalists and the vested interests. If Government comes forward with a progressive measure to protect their interests, our judiciary is a stumbling bloc for our progress. As a result, the poor agriculturists, workers and factory workers are troubled. For them democracy means that they should not

be exploited, starved or they should die of starvation. They should feel that they are not exploited by the capitalists and they must have a feeling that in the democracy, for the welfare of the people, everything should be distributed equally. All sorts of exploitation should be put an end to. So, this emergency gives a chance and a ray of hope to the poor people. They have got enthusiasm because they feel that today that kind of exploitation is over, and here is a Government which has disciplined the society. Sir, the emergency will check exploitation of the poor and they will get some relief on account of the implementation of this 20-point economic programme.

Sir, I do not want to go into sector by sector. I want to lay stress on one point and, that is, education. Education has become very costly in this country. No doubt, the Government may give land to the landless but my point is, are we giving proper education to the children of the poor people? Yes, a State like Kerala has to spend 36 per cent of the total revenue on education. There are two hundred colleges and thousand and odd secondary and primary schools. Simultaneously, we are running classes for the higher strata of society which is resulting in creation of two sections of society. We should not allow the continuance of two different standards of education. In Delhi my son is going to a nursery school and I am paying Rs. 45 p.m. as fees. But I have also noticed that in another school the fees are Rs. 20 p.m. Education has been turned into an industry in cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras. I want to stress here the need for a social change. If you want the poor to get land, not only give them land but also their children should be given proper education. The upper strata is spending black-money on their children and thus getting better education. There is a double atmosphere of two sections of society. Sir, if you look into the statistics of IAS, IPS, PCS and other cadres you will find that 80 per cent of these successful candidates in these cadres belong to the higher strata of society. Naturally, they will always collaborate with feudalist and capitalist higher-ups in the bureaucracy. Whatever emergency we may proclaim, they will never allow the society to change. So, Sir, the cost of education should be reduced and I appeal to the hon. Minister to consider this point.

Now, I will go to the next point. Sir, the farmers are dis-appointed on many an occasion. If the production of cotton, wheat or rice is more there is no machinery to contain it. The prices of these commodities tumble down. The farmers thus start thinking as to why they should produce if they are not going to get the reasonable price. So, I request the Finance Minister to look into this point. When we are asking for more production in the factories and the fields, then we must have the mechanism to see that prices are contained.

My next point is about the co-relation of price between agricultural production and agro-industries products. Today I feel there is no price relation between these two. It is harming the farmers. Take, for example, fertiliser. This is a very important point. I believe when you think of higher production of agriculture then you must consider the co-relation between the price-structure of these items. I would like to mention some other points. Now, about population. Sir, Dr. Karan Singh was speaking the other day about the population problem. I am in disagreement with him. I would like to stress this. A propaganda is being carried on in a big way that population is the only cause with which I disagree. I fully disagree with the neo-Marxist approach to the whole of problem of population. Of course, population is one of the problems in the country and it varies from State to

[Shri Vayalar Ravi]

State. But, we cannot say that it is the only problem in the country. It is said that twenty-five crores of people have been added. But, you should not forget this fact that poverty still remains in the African continent which is still under-developed. There are other countries where poverty still remains. The population of Africa is only 300 million. Now, for example, the population of Nigeria is about 80 million. I was surprised to read about Nigeria that during 1951—61, in Nigeria exactly 50 per cent more population has been added. But, today, Nigeria is better developed than any other African country. Even though the population of the African continent is only 300 million and it has all natural resources, poverty is still there. Therefore, we cannot say that population is the only cause. Of course, it should be contained. But, development is the inevitable thing which should be linked with population. I saw some statistics in regard to Madras and New York. It was said that when there was acute shortage of power, population went up But, the population is contained in certain countries in Europe, because the people do not want to have more children because of the affluence in society Therefore, this problem is linked with development and exploitation of natural resources in a country. This is also a point which the Government should take into consideration.

Then, Sir, I would like to mention about the implementation of this programme. The implementation of this programme depends on the machinery which you employ for implementation. I would like to stress this point. You are vesting more powers with the officers, with the bureaucracy. I do not blame all of them There are good people as well as bad people. The point is, these powers may be misused. I congratulate the Finance Minister—Mr. Mahata has also mentioned about this—for the campaign he has started against economic offenders. I read in the newspapers of yesterday and today about the affluent living of people. I do not want to use the word 'obscene'. Of course, I know that they are completely obscene. They are living on the blood and sweat of the poor people. They are living on black money. There are such people living in Vasant Vihar and other areas. Of course, you may not be able to check these houses in Vasant Vihar where all your big officials are living. But, you must teach them a lesson. You must tell them that they cannot continue in this fashion. I do not want to go into the details as to how this affluence comes about. If you go to Ashoka or Oberoi or some other big hotel, you will find that big parties are being given. Who are hosting these parties? They are all rich people Is it not a source of corruption? Therefore, I stress the need for implementation These powers which you are vesting with these officers may be misused. They may use the powers for harassing poor and innocent people. You must take stern action against them If they show personal vendetta against these poor people and they mis-use the powers, the whole purpose will be lost There should be a committed cadre of officers, committed cadre of bureaucracy, committed set of people who should manage this machinery for implementation with the spirit of the objectives of this programme namely, the stopping of the exploitation of the poor people, the welfare of the society in general and that of the poor in particular. We should instil this spirit among them. Then only, we can implement this programme. Otherwise, we cannot.

Now, Sir, I would like to say something about the human energy. I am not going to explain as to how we should utilise the human resources But, you must think on the subject as to how the human resources should be utilised. This is being wasted You are talking about the waste of water and waste of other things. But,

please think over the waste of human energy which is abundantly available in the country. I cannot say how you should use it, but, this should be used fully and effectively.

With these words, I conclude by saying that emergency is inevitable; it has created a sence of discipline and a sense of involvement among the people and a desire for building a new India.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I want to bring to the notice of the hon. members the fact that before us there are 40 speakers more and the time at our disposal is about 225 minutes. If all the speakers are to get through, we will have to slice down our time. Each speaker will have to take a little care about this. Every speech should be contained within 7 minutes; otherwise, half the members in the list will not get their chance. At 5 O'clock the Finance Minister will be called. These who rise may kindly remember that the time allowable to everyone is cut down to 7 minutes. At the 5th minute, the bell will be rung and at the 7th minute the speaker will have to close.

Shri P. R Shenoy.

SHRI CHAPALENDU BHATTACHARYYIA (Giridih): With great respect, how is it that at the tail end the speakers are subjected to this sort of rigorous cutting down of the time whereas the previous speakers who came forward were allowed after extension, crossing 15 minutes and sometimes 20 minutes? This has been operating rather unfortunately.

MR. CHAIRMAN: If each member takes as much time as he wants, many others who are asking and pleading for more time may remember that they may not be called upon at all. So much time is taken. Anyway let us start.

SHRI P. R. SHENOY (Udaipi): Some of the members in the list are absent.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please begin.

SHRI P. R. SHENOY: The Prime Minister has announced a new programme for the economic progress of the country and the hungry millions in the country have welcomed it wholeheartedly. The programme has been welcomed not because there is anything new in it, nor because it covers all the minimum needs of the common man, nor even because it fixes the priorities of the needs of the common man in a rational manner but because it promises to give some immediate relief to the poor people backed with a sanction that the Prime Minister means business this time and also that the Congress Party takes it as a last chance for proving its *bona fides* before the people.

No doubt, it is a small step. The entire programme is a small step, but it is a step forward, a step in the right direction and in right time and it is a step taken before a big leap that the country is bound to take before long. Some of the more important items of the programme are to be implemented by the State Governments. For this the State Governments require will and also funds. Some State Governments have no will to implement some of the items and some have no funds. In some other cases, the State Governments have neither will nor funds. Therefore, the Central Government should come forward to see that the State Governments implement this programme and for this purpose the Central Government should give sufficient and timely aid to the State Governments. Where there are our party governments in the States, the Centre can enforce party discipline on those Governments to implement this programme which is now popularly known as the 20-point programme.

One of the points is fixing of minimum agricultural wages. Some State

[Shri P. R. Shenoy]

Governments have already fixed the minimum wages. But it is long since they have been revised. Some State Governments have now taken steps to revise these minimum wages. But what is the use of simply passing a law fixing the minimum wages? There must be a machinery to see that this law of minimum wages is implemented. Because the agricultural labourers are completely ignorant and illiterate, some assistance from the State machinery is necessary for them to get the benefit of the law. Some agricultural labourers at present get their wages, partly in kind and that system sohuld continue so that they are not forced to use their money for buying essential commodities at high prices. The State Governments should quickly survey the nature and extent of bonded labour because the whole programme has to be implemented in six months. All loans or advances given for getting bonded labour should be completely abolished. The labour conditions of domestic servants should be studied. Carrying of night soil on heads or by hand, pulling of rickshas and exploitation of small boys and girls in hotels and restaurants should be checked completely

Crores of rupees are necessary for giving house sites to landless poor and weaker sections of society and for putting up houses on house sites. Formerly, the Central Government used to give some grants to the State Governments for levelling of house sites. I am told that the Central Government had stopped it. How can the State Governments acquire house sites and level them? How can they put houses on such sites at a short time if no funds are made available? The Central Government should see that the State Government gets sufficient aid. In my State the State Government has given sites to fifty per cent of the persons who require them; for the rest it could not acquire the necessary land because there is no money and there is no will to give up Government land to the house less poor. The Central Government should come forward and give necessary aid to the State. The Janata Housing Scheme of the Karnataka Government will take more than hundred years to implement without Central assistance. I therefore suggest that the Life Insurance Corporation of India can come forward and help put up houses on those sites. The LIC has a lot of money; it can invest Rs. 1 crore per day. But its investment goes into the rich private sector companies; it should go to the poor people who want to build houses on sites in rural areas. LIC can also be directed by the Central Government to give a loan for making the Janata housing scheme a success in all the States. LIC is giving loan to its own employees at a very lower rate of interest. For clerks and others it puts a lot of obstruction in giving that loan. In banks also they give money and the rate of interest is only four per cent and most of the officers have houses worth more than a lakh because they could take advantage of this. This extra money wasted on big buildings could be diverted to the Janata housing schemes so that it could succeed in six months or a year.

In Karnataka the Land Reforms Act has come into force. In my constituency about 40,000 tenants have become owners. They have to file applications before a tribunal and get its declaration. The tribunal has to give notice to the land lords that the tenants are the owners. It appears it will take more than 40 years to get this done in my constituency because there are 80,000 applicants. The tribunal sits once a month or so to dispose of the applications and how many can they dispose of in one day. The law is in favour of the tenants but the tenants are worried because ultimately the law may go against them and it may take years for the disposal of the applications. My suggestion is that the tribunal should be made to sit every day to dispose of the cases.

Additional tribunals should also be formed so that all the cases could be disposed of within six months.

And another thing is that there are about 40,000 people in my Constituency who were tenants who have now become the owners of small landholdings. Consequently about 10,000 people who were small holders have now become landless. They have lost their lands and they have now become landless people. There is a provision in the Act that each of these landless persons can be given compensation of Rs. 2,000/- immediately. But if these landless persons are to be given a compensation of Rs. 2,000 each in the entire State Government would require an amount of at least Rs. 25.0 crores. The State Government has no funds to give this compensation. The Centre should provide funds to the State Government for this purpose. If this compensation is not given immediately, the small landless people may be asked to contribute this amount as their share towards the industries—especially the agro-industries—to be started by the State Government so that there may not be any loss to them.

Sir, the Minister has said that priority will be given to continuing irrigation and power projects. In our State, Kali Hydro-electric project is a continuing project and Haladi hydel project is also a similar project. Some steps should be taken for implementing Kali Hydel Project, Haladi Hydel Project, Krishna River Velley project and Cauvery River Valley Project. All these projects are continuing projects. But there is no fund to continue these projects. Therefore, the Centre should see that these projects are completed before it takes up the giant thermal project. I am told that there are some vested interests in taking up these thermal projects in preference to hydel projects. Hydel projects are cheaper than thermal projects. Thermal projects are very costly. I do not know why Government wants thermal projects in preference to hydel projects. I am sure there are some vested interests in this There must be a probe into this and the Minister should explain why thermal projects are preferable to hydel projects and tell us what are the import contents in thermal projects. Sir, since there is no time, I conclude.

SHRI ARJUN SETHI (Bhadrak). Mr. Chairman, Sir, to provide economic equality to the vulnerable sections in the society at an accelerated rate, the New Economic Programme announced by the Prime Minister gives top priority on the speedly completion of proper land records in co-operation with the local people, the implementation of ceiling legislation, provision of house sites for the landless, review of minimum wages to the agricultural labour, abolition of the feudal practice of bonded labour and the moratorium on repayment of private debts in rural areas. Sir, since the time at my disposal is very short, I would like to confine my observation to certain aspects, that is, moratorium on rural debts and agricultural labour problems. Sir, I fully agree and support the declaration made by the Prime Minister regarding the moratorium on the loans in the rural areas. But I would like to draw the attention of the Minister to the fact that the obligation that binds a debtor to his creditor is in most cases unwritten and is therefore virtually beyond the purview of the law. Moreover, the debtor may not feel emboldened to seriously deny that obligation till he is sure of an alternative source of credit to meet his farming and other requirements. The Union Government's decision to set up as many as 50 regional banks by 2nd October is welcome evidence of its determination to free the rural poor from the clutches of the usurious money-lenders. But the quickest way to break the stranglehold of private moneylenders on small farmers and the rural poor will be to activise primary cooperatives credit societies which already cover more than 90 per cent of the villages. But at present most of the cooperatives are

[Shri Arjun Sethi]

controlled by big farmers whose first concern is to protect their own interests. They invariably belong to the higher castes, are the dominant group in the villages and corner most of the credit. In fact, no concerted effort has been made so far even to identify small farmers. The cooperatives have not laid down any criteria to determine which peasants constitute the weaker sections of the farming community. Lastly the procedure for getting loans should be made simpler so that the need of the farmers is met at the earliest. At present the procedure is cumbersome.

The labour force which constitutes nearly 9 per cent of the total population has been the most neglected section of the Indian society, despite various plans stressing rural development. There already exists enough of legislation to effectively deal with the farm labour problems. But what has been lacking is its implementation through state machinery. Almost all the States have fixed the 'minimum wages' without any machinery worth the name to implement them. The difference in the minimum wages fixed by various States under the Mnnimum Wages Act also need to be looked into and made uniform.

The economic programme announced by our Prime Minister is certainly going to improve the lot of the common man and the villager in the countryside if it is implemented properly and enough care is taken to rectify the procedures and tone up the machinery which is at present at the helm of affairs. Otherwise, the whole purpose of this programme is certainly going to be defeated. In the past, we have had many economic policies but the same have not been implemented because the machinery is not committed to implement those policise. So, I urge upon the Government to look into the implementation aspect of the problem. Otherwise, the whole purpose of this programme may be defeated.

SHRI GIRIDHAR GOMANGO (Koraput): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I support this 20-point programme because out of these 20-points, 10 points are directly related to the tribals and the rest 10 are indirectly related to the tribals and weaker sections of the society. Sir, I hope, by this economic programme the aspirations of the poor will be achieved, at least, to some extent.

There are three matters which are highly essential for the economic development of the tribals. And, there are a number of protective measures in this programme. I will deal with the economic programme first because the Finance Minister has brought this motion before the House for discussion:

Sub-plans by the various State Governments are yet to be finalised and it will require some time. Finance for the Sub-plan should be given by the State as well as the Central sectors. Out of Rs. 500 crores, Rs. 200 crores have been earmarked for the tribal development by the Centre. The State Governments have yet to earmark money for the Sub-Plan. The Prime Minister has also written letters to the Chief Ministers asking them to submit the Sub-plan. She also mentioned that instead of waiting for the finalisation of the sub-plan, they should start implementing the sub-plan. If there is any change necessary at the implementation stage, it can be changed.

Cooperatives and banks should be given full scope in the villages. As the banks cannot go to the villages, Cooperatives should be given full encouragement to go to villages. The laws of the cooperatives also should be revised so that they can serve the poor people in the villages more effectively than the rich who monopolise them.

The Central Sector which has to earmark its allocations to the Sub-plan, has not done so as yet. Only

the Agriculture Ministry has earmarked a sum of Rs. 193 crores for the tribal development. I request the other Ministries of the Government of India that they should follow the example of the Agriculture Ministry.

Strictness in the Government expenditure is highly essential. Suppose, a tribal project gets Rs 5 crores and out of this—the administrative expenditure is Rs. 2 crores, we canot say that Rs. 5 crores is the expenditure on tribal development. If the State Government has no money, then the Centre as well as the State should bear the expenditure on tribal development. That is what our Constitution says.

About economic measures, diversification of money from one project to another should be stopped. If the money is diverted in the name of lapse of that money, then all our programmes which are given in the Sub-Plan will be in a different shape.

About protective measures, there are a number of acts and laws on bonded labour but the implementation part of it has not yet been effectively dealt with because of lack of personnel. In the sub-plans there are a number of programmes which have been suggested. One programme is the abolition of liquor shops in tribal areas. This is one of the policies which has been accepted in principle by the Ministers from all the States, that liquor shops in the tribal areas should be abolished. I would submit to the Government of India that they should give a direction to the State Governments that they should accept in principle to abolish those liquor shops from tribal areas before the 2nd October, the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, who was in fact the founder of the prohibition policy.

The most important thing in developmental administration is the implementation of the plan programmes. Now there is a duplication of agencies in the tribal areas which creates complication in the administration. The result is that there is no cooperation and coordination between the different departments in the tribal areas. The suggestion given by the Government to have a single-line administration in the tribal areas and the project areas for implementation should be accepted. The States may have different administrative measures but single-man decision and single-line administration is highly essential at the project level so that the project officer will decide quickly and achieve a time-bound programme.

The ladder system in the administration is necessary. But there should not be more ladders by which the files could not reach the table in time. There should be a lift system of administration at the project level to take quick decisions and give directions. The project officer should take spot decisions and he should not refer even small points to the State Governments or the Centre.

The land is the most important problem of the tribals. Even though there are number of laws on this problem, all these should be implemented. A survey is yet to be done. The distribution of land to the tribals should be gone. So far as ownership is concerned, it should be implemented from 1947 onwards, because alienation of land is an acute problem among tribals. Therefore, so far as land distribution is concerned, all the laws which are there should have effect from 1947.

I need not refer to bonded labour and rural indebtedness and other points. But I will stress more on the administrative line and the economic measures because the programmes are brought forward by the economic Ministry. Coming to the sub-plans which are being adopted by the Government of India, they should give directions to the State Governments that these will have to be discussed.

[Shri Giridhar Gomango]

But, before discussion, as the Prime Minister has mentioned in her letter, they should give direction to the States that they should start immediately proposed number of projects which are yet to be implemented. I hope all these problems and programmes will be covered by the sub-plans.

Coming again to the prohibition policy, I would say that if the State Governments take the stand that the revenue which they earn by way of excise duty on liquor is essential to them, then out of the money, which is given for the development of tribal areas, this money may be deducted and given to the State Governments. In any case, they should accept in principle the policy of prohibition and implement it immediately.

I welcome the measures suggested by the Prime Minister. The implementation of these measures is more important. Now the implementation depends upon the bureaucracy. The politicians are the policy-makers. The people have to get the fruits out of the bureaucrats and democrats. If immediate steps are not taken, particularly in the backward and tribal areas, the implementation of these schemes will be a long drawn out process and naturally the fruits the people will be able to get only after a long time with the result that the object and aim of quick justice will be defeated.

With these words, I support this programme.

श्री मंगरु उइके (मंडला) : सभापति जी, प्रधान मंत्री जी की आपातकालीन घोषणा और इस आर्थिक कार्यक्रम की घोषणा से इस देश में एक तरह से युग परिवर्तन हो गया है। एक नया युग आ गया है। मैं नया युग इस लिये कहता हूं कि मुझे पिछले ढाई सालों में अपने मध्य प्रदेश राज्य के 27 जिलों में आदिम जाति विकास नीति निर्धारण आयोग के दौरे में अपनी जनता से घना सम्पर्क करने का अवसर मिला। जो जनता प्रजातन्त्र में निष्ठा रखने वाली, प्रशासन में अनुशासित रहनेवाली और व्यावहारिक जीवन में नैतिकता का बर्ताव करने वाली रही है, उस जनता को पिछले दिनों में मैंने ऐसा कहते हुए पाया कि यह सब क्या हो रहा है ? हम महंगाई को बरदाश्त कर लेंगे, इस आशा से कि कभी तो अच्छे दिन आयेंगे, लेकिन आज जो रास्ता चलते हुए किसी भी समय हमारी जो इज्जत बिगड़ेगी उस का कोई ठिकाना नहीं है। लेकिन जून की 26 तारीख को आपातकालीन घोषणा होने के बाद, कुछ गुण्डों, छिपाकर अनाज रखनेवालों, कालाबाजारी करने वालों को जगह जगह पकड़ा गया, उस से लोगों के अन्दर एक आनन्द की लहर दौड़ गई और वही लोग कहने लगे कि अब हमारी आबरू बच जायेगी। इस बीस-सूत्री कार्यक्रम की घोषणा के बाद हमारे देश की अधिकतर जनता में एक उत्साह की लहर फैल गई है पिछड़े हुए आदिवासियों के लिये जो बातें होनी चाहियें, वे इस में आ गई है, उन के विस्तार में जाने की जरूरत नहीं है। मैं ने 1350 सफ़े की मध्य प्रदेश राज्य आयोग की एक रिपोर्ट अपने मुख्य मंत्री के साथ प्रधान मंत्री जी को दी थी, उस में ये सभी बातें हैं।

इन में कुछ बातें ऐसी है जो शायद कुछ राज्यों के लिये कठिन होंगी। इस लिये मैं अन्य राज्यों के बारे में कुछ नहीं कह सकता, लेकिन जहां तक हमारी मध्य प्रदेश राज्य सरकार का सम्बन्ध है हमारे यहां ज़िला स्तर पर, सब-डिवीजन स्तर पर, रेवेन्यू सर्किल के स्तर पर कमेटियां बनी हैं। रेवेन्यू सर्किल की कमेटी गांव गांव में जायेगी। उन को बैल गाड़ी और उन को 5 रुपया दैनिक भत्ता मिलेगा। तहसील कमेटी और जिला कमेटी जीप में जायेंगी। जिला कमेटी का सैक्रेटरी कलैक्टर रहेगा। इन में सारे नान-आफिशियल मेम्बर रहेंगे और केवल एम० पी० या एम० एल० ए० ही सदस्य रूप में नहीं होंगे बल्कि उन में कुछ सोशल वर्कर्स,

महिला वर्कर्स, युवक और लेबर प्रतिनिधि भी होंगे। इसी तरह से सब-डिवीजनल कमेटी में सब-डिवीजनल आफिसर उस के सैक्रेटरी होंगे एक एम० एल० ए० उस का चेयरमैन होगा, इस तरह से बड़े काश्तकार, महिला वर्कर्स टीचर्स हमारी कमेटी में होंगे। इसी तरह से रेवेन्यू स्तर पर जो कमेटी होगी उस का सैक्रेटरी तहसीलदार होगा। उस को अधिकार दिया गया है कि जितने मामले राज्य स्तर पर आते है उन को स्पाट पर डिसाइड करेंगे। किसी को जमीन के पट्टे देना है वह दिये जायेंगे किसी को मकान की सहायता देनी है, उस का उसी वक्त अपने पास लिख लेंगे और फौरन पैमेन्ट कर देंगे, किसी आदमी की जमीन किसी ने दबाई है, उस को छुड़ा कर फौरन उसको कब्जा दिया जायेगा—इस के लिये एक अपील की गुजाइश रखी गई है। ता० 7 को इस की बैठक है, हम वहां जाकर अब अपने प्रदेश के काम मे लगेंगे। हम देखेंगे कि जितने ऐसे काम है जो हो नही पाते, जैसे कोई भूमिहीन है, किसी के पास मकान नहीं है या किसी के कोई जमीन दबाई है या कोई बन्धक की नौकरी करता है या नही कृषि मजदूर की नौकरी या मजदूरी कम मिलती है—इन सारी बातो का निबटारा बड़ी आसानी से तुरन्त हो जायेगा। रही बात यह कि धन की जरूरत होगी तो मध्य प्रदेश गरीब प्रान्त होने के कारण वित्त मंत्री जी को कुछ ज्यादा ध्यान देना पड़ेगा और कुछ पैसे की सहायता करनी पड़ेगी।

14 hrs.

दूसरी बात यह कि बड़ी बड़ी नदियों को बांधने की जो योजनायें है उन में समय काफ़ी लगता है, और विवाद भी चल रहे हैं, तो अभी आप को छोटे बांधों का काम पहले कुछ शुरू करना चाहिये जो एक, दो साल मे तैयार हो सकते हैं और गरीब किसान उन से सिंचाई का लाभ जल्दी उठा सकते हैं। यह बात मैं आदिवासी के नाते नहीं, बल्कि पिछड़े हुए जिलों के नाम पर कह रहा हूं।

एक बांध मेरी कांस्टीट्यूऐंसी में बन रहा है जिस में 100 गांव डूब रहे है, उन को कहां बसाया जायगा यह समस्या है और उन लोगों को 11 साल से डेवलपमेंट के लिये पैसा नही मिल रहा है क्यों कि बैंक यह कहते हैं कि तुम्हारी जमीन डूबने वाली है इसलिये पैसा नहीं दे सकते। इसी प्रकार नदियों के विवाद पड़े हुए हैं, उन में डूबने वाले गांवो के लोग अपना स्टैन्डर्ड आफ़ लिविंग उठा नही सकते तो यह झगड़े जो पडे हुए है राज्यों के बीच, इन को निपटाने का इस से अच्छा अवसर आप को कभी नही मिल सकता। आप इस इमरजेंसी के दौरान उन विवादों को हल कर दें।

इसी प्रकार से भूमि बंधक बैंक, सहकारी और राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंकों से पैसा मिलने में लोगों को काफ़ी कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ता है क्यों कि उन के नियम जटिल है। इसलिये नियमों को सरल होना चाहिये। आज हालत यह है कि किसी को कनीथरेंस सर्टिफ़िकेट दो दिन मे मिल जाता है और किसी को डेड़, डेड़ साल तक नही मिलता है। तो इन बातों को वित्त मंत्री जी देखें और इन तीनों प्रकार के बैंकों से पैसा आसानी से मिल सके इसके लिये उन के क़ायदे कानून सरल करें, भले ही आप ब्याज की दर कम न करें, लेकिन नियम सरल बनाये।

जिन बाजारों में चीनी की जलेबी नहीं मिलती थी वहां चांदी के जेवरों की दो, तीन मोटरें जाती है। यह सुना है कि 50 परसेंट दूसरी मैटल मिलायी जाती है जिस के बने जेवर सीधे सादे लोगों को चांदी के भाव पर बेचे जाते है। इस पर आप को ध्यान देना चाहिये, खास कर ट्रायबल एरियाज में जो चांदी की मोटरे और जेवर वाले है इन पर वित्त मंत्री जी को विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये जिस से सीधे सादे आदिवासियों का शोषण रोका जा सके।

[श्री मंगरू उइके]

एक बात पर हमारे हैल्थ मिनिस्टर ने भी जोर नहीं दिया। और वह यह कि हम सब कुछ करें लेकिन फ़ेमिली प्लानिंग सब भारतीयों के लिये जब तक अनिवार्य नहीं करेंगे तब तक किस तरह से देश की गरीबी दूर कर सकेंगे। मेरा निवेदन है कि सब भारतवासियों के लिये फेमिली प्लानिंग कम्पलसरी होनी चाहिये, चाहे वह किसी भी धर्म के हों। यह अनिवार्य कर दिया जाय कि दो या तीन बच्चे के बाद हर भारतीय को फ़ेमिली प्लानिंग करनी होगी।

अन्त में मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जो प्रधान मंत्री जी ने आखिर में कहा है कि अब राष्ट्रीय भावना जगाने का अवसर है, तो जैसी कहावत है कि तवा गर्म है तब तक रोटी सेक लो, यही हम को करना चाहिये। हमारा आज कर्त्तव्य है कि जन-मानस तैयार करे। इस में कोई देरी नहीं लगेगी। जो कहेंगे जनता वही करने के लिये तैयार हो जायेगी, सिर्फ कायदे कानून बीच में रोकने की जरूरत है। और जो भ्रष्ट तथा शिथिल कर्मचारी हैं उन को निकालने का काम कई राज्यों ने शुरू कर दिया है, ऐसे भ्रष्ट लोगों की तरफ़ पूरा ध्यान होना चाहिये। अगर सरकार इस तरफ़ ध्यान नहीं देगी तो कोई कार्यक्रम आप पूरा नहीं कर सकेंगे।

अन्त में मैं प्रार्थना करता हूं भगवान से, मेरे जैस बूढ़े आदमी की आत्मा में इन्दिरा जी के प्रति ऐसा भाव हो रहा है कि मेरे अगर 10 साल जीवन के बचे हों तो यह 10 साल परमात्मा इन्दिरा जी को दे दे तथा उन को सुखी और तन्दरुस्त रखे ताकि वह देश का कयलण कर सकें।

SHRI KARTIK ORAON (Lohardaga): I rise to welcome this 20-point economic programme which the Prime Minister announced on the 1st July, 1975 As far as emergency is concerned, by now, everybody has come to know what it is about. Emergency was a must. Without Emergency, this 20-Point Economic Programme was also not possible. Therefore, they cannot be taken in isolation. There must be Emergency to implement the 20-Point Economic Programme and, without implementing the 20-Point Economic Programme, we cannot honour the commitment that we made in 1971-72 when the people had given a very massive mandate to our leader and our party.

I must say that so far as the Prime Minister is concerned, it is not a new thing that she has done. I hope, all hon. Members here are aware of what the Prime Minister said in April, 1971. I quote:

> "We do not have all the time in the world. We must make a dent in the next three or four years at the most."

Her intention was correct. She wanted to do certain things. But the reactionary forces raised their ugly heads. You are aware of what happened in Bihar, what happened in Gujarat. They wanted to pull down the democratically-elected Government. There were gheraos everywhere. The normalcy in public life was disturbed. Finally, they took such a path that they started calling the armed forces, the military, to revolt These were the things which stood in her way of implementing progressive policies and programmes. So, this is not a new thing. It was in her mind to do all these things. She wanted to implement them. But she was put in such a tight corner due to Bangladesh war and all sorts of agitations that she could not do it. You are also aware that during the last two sessions, this Parliament has not been able to function in an effective manner. These are the reasons why she could not implement her progressive policies and economic programmes.

Sir, in a limited time at my disposal, it is not possible for me to go

through all the 20-points of the Economic Programme. I will make a sweeping reference to some points and concentrate on one or two points

The No. 1 point is to bring down prices of essential commodities. This is one single factor which has hit the common man most, that is, the spiralling rise in prices of essential commodities. The vigorous steps had to be taken to prevent black-marketing, hoarding, etc. There is already a wind of change in the country and the hard hit people, particularly, the weaker sections of society are getting relief from this 20-Point programme because it has already taken shape. The trend of prices has come down. If this had not been done, many millions of people in our country would have been exposed to the danger of starvation. In some places, we are not getting essential commodities. We must have Government godowns and cooperatives run by educated unemployed and facilitate them to run shops. The Government should issue permits to those dealers who are cooperating with the Government at the present juncture and who have clean records in the past. This is how we can remove the hardships of the people.

Another important point that I would like to stress is the implementation of the land ceiling, speedier disposal of surplus land and compilation of land records. So far as this is concerned, I have to make a submission. There must be an inadvertant emission here. The Prime Minister in her broadcast on July 1, 1975 has specifically mentioned—I quote:

> "A special care will be taken to ensure that the tribal people are not deprived of their land."

This is a very serious problem all over the country. Today, we are not educated enough to take advantage of the constitutional privileges. They have taken over lands for big projects, like, the Heavy Engineering Corporation, Ranchi, the Bokaro Steel Plant, the Rourkela Steel Plant, the Bhilai Steel Plant and all other big projects. They are all located in the tribal areas but those tribal people have been denied jobs under some pretext or other. We have removed Maharajas and Zamindars, but they have been replaced by the Managing Directors and General Managers; they do not care for the tribals who have given away their lands. Government should replace such officers who do not toe the line of Government policies and programmes. This is a very serious matter so far as tribals are concerned.

A very striking feature is that, despite Special Tenancy Acts preventing the transfer of tribal lands to the non-tribals without the permission of the Deputy Commissioners, transfers of tribal lands are taking place on an alarming scale. This is because, in most cases, the Deputy Commissioners have their own vested interests and they cannot go against their own kith and kin.

There are a large number of cases where the Deputy Commissioners are acquiescing in the transferees and as a result, there are many tribals who are now serving the money-lenders from generation to generation. There are cases where 15 to 20 acres of tribal lands are lying with the money-lenders for a paltry sum of Rs. 100 or so. This is how the tribal are being sucked of their blood.

Housing cooperative societies are another novel method under the guise of which many lands are being grabbed from the tribals. You will be surprised to know that, in Bihar, in Ranchi, 30 acres of tribal lands were taken away by the employees of the A. G.'s office for cooperative housing society. They went in for Second Cooperative of 42.43 acres. They brought the tribals after getting them drunk and paid them only Rs. 500 or so and made them sign against Rs. 13,000/-. This was done in 1972. This is a very serious mat-

[Shri Kartik Oraon]

ter. In spite of there being the Scheduled Areas regulation, which was intended to restore illegal transfer of lands, nothing worth the name has been done by the Deputy Commissioner. There are many cases in Ranchi where the Deputy Commissioner has acted against the interests of tribals, but he is going stronger and cannot be transfered. He appears to be having some pull and, therefore, he is not being transferred. On the other hand, there was a Deputy Commissioner in Dhanbad; he protected the interests of tribals; the tribals felt that there was somebody to protect their interests, but immediately he was transferred and made Registrar somewhere.

I am getting a large number of complaints from the tribals in Rourkela area that all the tribal lands in the vicinity of Rourkela are being grabbed by businessmen, and in spite of repeated complaints, Government cannot take any action. Government is helpless. I received two complaints from Madhya Pradesh, Bastar District, where two tribals took loans of Rs. 5,000/- each from the Government, but even after paying off the loans, the figure was still shown as Rs. 5,000 against their names. The lands were auctioned, but the Government could not do anything for them. I wrote to the Chief Minister, he could not do anything. we were only told that it was not that everything was taken away, only something had been taken away.

On 25th July last, Shri Dilip Singh Bharia, a tribal MLA from Jhabua in Madhya Pradesh cited five harrowing tales of tribal exploitation. Five businessmen grabbed 100 to 200 acres each from tribals by fraudulent means. These tribals are serving in their own fields, but the harvest is being reaped by the businessmen. Strangely enough, they are leaders of some party or the other and are getting protection under the garb of being leaders.

What is true of Madhya Pradesh is equally true of Bihar, Orissa and other States. I have not heard any complaint from West Bengal. .(*Interruptions*). All these things should be looked into.

Shri D. K. Borooah the then Governor of Bihar, on 13th November, 1971, while addressing the officers at Raj Bhavan premises, at Ranchi, said: "If any officer is found wanting in discharging his duties towards the tribals, it would be recorded as adverse remarks in his Confidential Report". But he did not stay long enough to see that it was implemented.

It is the policy of the Government of India to see that only such officers would be posted in tribal areas who would have zest for development and interest for the welfare of scheduled tribes. This, however, is not being implemented and I am afraid, if this is not implemented, a very magnanimous scheme of Sub-Plan for all States for the tribal welfare would be a useless paper exercise. More emphasis should be laid on the choice of suitable officers for tribal areas. I would urge upon the Government to come forward with special legislation for a model Act for the prevention and restoration of fraudulent transfer of tribal land to the non-tribals and ask the State Governments to implement it rather stringently. It should be made a penal offence to be in wrongful possession of tribal land. The tribals must have the benefit of the emergency This is my request.

Finally, Sir, I would request the hon. Finance Minister to add the following in the words of Prime Minister in her broadcast:

"Special care should be taken to ensure that the tribal people are protected against fraudulent transfer of their lands and it would be made penal offence for any non-tribal to be in wrongful possession of tribal lands and in flagrant violation of

special tenancy Acts prohibiting such transfers."

If the hon. Finance Minister cannot accept this, at least he should see some sense in my request that the wosds broadcast by the Prime Minister to the nation should not be deleted.

The idea about stepping up of provision of house sites for landless and weaker sections is a very good one The Government should come forward to provide cheap houses for all the weaker sections of the society. The move about abolition of bonded labour is also a very good move

About the minimum wages for agrichltural labour these should be fixed on a rational basis throughout the State. The Government of Bihar have announced minimum wages of agricultural labourers. They have put 3 kgs. per day for North Bihar and 4 kgs for the South Bihar and Chhota Nagpur and Santhal Parganas areas without knowing that in North Bihar, they are having three crops, whereas in the Chhotanagpur and Santhal Pargana areas they are hardly having one crop.

Five million more hectares as to be brought under irrigation. If this is done, it will give additional foodgrains of 30 million tonnes. This is going to pull down the prices of essential commodities to a large extent.

If handloom sector is properly supported, it will go a long way to help the poor people. In Ormanjhi, Ranchi, there is a cooperative society of Muslim handloom weavers. They do not have funds; as a result they have to bank on big businessmen who advance them loan at exhorbitant interest. These weavers produce sarees and sell as Rs. 13/- per pair to these businessmen, who in turn sell them at Rs. 25/- per pair. This is because they cannot get the finance through any other source., The Government should come forward to protect the interests of poor sections of such people.

With regard to the ceiling ownership and possession of vacant land in the urban areas, this is going to hit very hard the tribal people. Some tribals have their land in urban areas, most of which have been fraudulently alienated. This is likely to accentuate legalised land alienation. This would go against the interests of the tribals.

Now I come to Point 12. I have gone through the Wanchoo Committee Report and their recommendations should be implemented. According to them, the total amount of black money, leakage of foreign exchange arising out of illegal transactions of over-invoicing and under-invoicing and losses due to the public sector in which we have invested 38,000 crores and on which we are losing, is of the order of 25,000 crores. We are very optimistic about the public sector. We think that the public sector is doing fine But I feel if you go inside, you will find that so much of manipulation is taking place. They have got thousands of tonnes in the backlog and they are showing it against production. In Bokaro there are half a dozen typists. They type experience certificates. Pay them Rs. 50 and get an experience certificate and enter into service by bogus certificates. That is how things are happening in the country.

Our concept of profits is like this. This year you sustain a loss of Rs. 17 crores and next year if the loss is Rs. 16 crores, then you consider it is a profit. There is the Public Undertakings Committee. What can a small committee of 15 or 30 members do? Let there be a committee of hundred members and let them be spread all over the country divided into ten groups. Let them go and inspect the plant for two to three days and make a thorough study of it. Then only you will know where we stand. We are very optimistic and we

[Shri Kartik Oraon]

feel that we are doing well when we do not know whether we are sinking or swimming. What is more dangerous is that when we start sinking, we think we are swimming.

Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity. Finally I will make one simple observation. There is only one yardstick for implementation of the 20 point economic programme of the Prime Minister.

> "Such results of human conduct which the law seeks to prohibit must be made punishable."

Government must fix responsibilities on officers at each level. It may be a cardinal principle to support an officer in difficulties always, in error sometimes and crime never. But let there be no political protection to the corrupt officers.

SHRI P. K. GHOSH (Ranchi): I welcome and whole-heartedly support the 20-point economic programme. If we can implement them properly, it will bring about a redical change in the society. In the words of our Congress President, Shri D. K. Borooah,

> "The economic programme announced by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, makes the beginning of a renewed and vigorus battle against poverty for mitigating the sufferings of the deprived, vulnerable and weaker sections of the society and for laying the foundation of new social order."

The whole country has welcomed this programme. Already there is an indication of the effectiveness of these programmes. Prices are falling and the gross national income is expected to go up. Last year it was only 2 per cent. This year it is expected to go up to 6 per cent. At the same time, industrial production is also expected to go up considerably from 2 per cent last year to 6 per cent this year.

But, for the implementation of this programme, we should not solely depend upon the bureaucracy because among the bureaucrats there are many people who do not believe in our socialist policy and it is impossible for us to implement these programmes through persons who do not themselves believe in this policy. Therefore, there needs to be a proper screening of the officials and we should try to find out the right persons for entrusting the job of implementation of this programme. Bureaucrats have been given too much protection under Article 311 of the Constitution. Some of them feel that with this protection having been granted to them, even if they do not obey the orders of the Government or do not act as per wishes of the Government or as per policy of the Government, nobody can touch them. They sometimes disobey the orders of the Government and act in the manner they like. Therefore, I would suggest that Article 311 of the Constitution should be amended so that the erring officers can be removed from the Government service if they do not implement the policies enunciated by the Government and apporved by the Parliament. I would suggest that we should not solely depend upon the officials because it is not possible for them to know what is happening in the remote villages. They may be sincere in implementing the programme, but their being away from the villages does have an effect. Therefore, we should involve the public in implementation of these programmes right from the village level. While I say that we should involve the public, we should also see that; at the village level and district level, unwanted people do not get into the committees. It has been our experience that dishonest people try to get into these committees first. For example, if we have to have a Committee on checking black marketing and hoarding, invariably the hoarders and blackmarksteers will try

to get their names enrolled so that they may be protected.

In every Government office were should be a public complaint book and the Government should call upon the members of the public to register their complaints in these complaint books The complaint may be against an official of the Department, against certain blackmarketeer or businessman or industrry. The public should be directed to record such complaints in this complaint book. The pages of the complaint books should be serially numbered so that nobody can tamper with them. Public Committees should be asked to go into these complaints on which you can have Members of Parliament or members of the State Legislatures. They should be asked to go into the complaints and prescribe punishment to the erring persons. They should be given statutory powers to punish the culprits. Sometimes people are afraid of lodging complaints against the Government officials because they may be dragged to the court of law if the complaints are not proved. We should make a legislation that any complaint registered in such complaint book canot be made a subject matter in any court of law.

I am glad that the wholesalers have been asked to display their stock position and the price. Government is making checks to find out if there is any unaccounted stocks. But there is one danger which I want to point out. Before the emergency was promulgated, they used to stock 75 per cent of the goods with black money. Now, since there is a check from the Government they do not want to utilise that black money. The result is that their turn over is going down. They are not bringing enough stocks. Recently, we found that in many markets there was shortage of sugar, although sugar is there in plenty. The production of sugar this year has been very high. In spite of that there was scarcity of sugar in the open market. Why? Before the proclamation of emergency these wholesalers used to bring a major portion of their stocks of sugar with their black money. Now that has been stopped. Therefore, I suggest that in every district headquarters the Government should open wholesale depots where all the essential commodities should be stocked. The retailers can go there and purchase these things. If they are not available elesewhere they could go to these Government depots and get their stocks.

Then, Sir, the bureaucrats in their enthusiasm, to show their sincerity and efficiency, are asking the retailers also to display their stock position. I don't mind if they are asked to display the price. But what is objectionable is that they are asked to display their stock position. This is absured. I say this because these small retailers are selling thousand and one items. Most of them are also not very well-educated. This would mean that even a small retailer has to keep an accountant to write down the daily sales of over a thousand and one items which they sell to over a hundred of small consumers daily. If he is to keep such an accountant and pay him Rs. 300 a month, that will only add to the establishment charge of this small retailer. He should therefore have a larger margin for paying that accountant and therefore the price in the market will go up. Therefore what I suggest is that Government should evolve a national policy for the wholesalers and for the retailers and guidelines should be evolved to be followed by every businessman and industrialist. These guidelines should be sent to all State Governments and these people should be asked to strictly follow those guidelines.

I welcome the proposed ceiling on urban property, which will go a long way in curbing black money.

I feel that real socialistic pattern of society can only be established if we can bring about a ceiling on the total holdings of an individual. By 'total holding' I mean all agricultural land, urban property including moveables,

[Shri P. K. Ghosh]

cash-in-hand, cash-in-bank, jewelltry. investments in business, and industry, including shares in private and public limited companies.

Now, in the context of today it is no use doing things in a peacemeal way. If we impose only ceiling on urban property what will happen is this. These big business men and industrialists will stop investing in urban property but instead they will start diverting their investment to some other channels. They may invest in iudustries or their black money in jewellery. So, for establishing a real socialistic pattern of society we should have a ceiling on the total holding of an individual. I have been saying this for the last several years. I am sure Government will take note of this suggestion of mine and take action accordingly

I am happy you have given me time, Mr. Chairman. and I don't want to take further time. I would request the hon. Minister to take note of the suggestions put forward by me

SHRIMATI M. GODFREY (Nominated—Anglo-Indians): Mr. Chairman Sir, although I gave my name late, I am thankful to you for giving me time.

The economic programmes announced by the Prime Minister are not only welcomed by us, but by the poor people in this country and by almost every section of people in our country. The poor people are suffering under great stress and strain the poor people are being oppressed by these shopkeepers and the poor labourers are being oppressed by the contractors in all kinds of ways. And this programme if implemented, probably, would make the country a paradise, particularly, for the poor. I am sure, that this was the intention with which our Prime Minister has brought out this programme. I would not like to do well on all the points because that would take a long time. There are a few points which I would like to stress particularly. That is about the bonded labour. I think it would be a great relief for the labourers if this bonded labour was really abolished in all the States because the contractors just now take advantage of the poor labourers and pay them whatever they deem fit and without giving them a regular wage and they force them to do hard labour which makes them useless to do any other work, particularly in their own home. This is also sucking the energy and the life of the masses of our labour class people. This bonded labour, the Prime Minister is trying to eradicate from the country. I think, is a very good move and, if put into force, it would release many of our people from the bonded labour from which they are suffering now. I would like to lay stress that children should not be permitted to work anywhere. I see that many boys and also girls are being harassed by these labourers in their farms, in the fields They are also harassed in hotels and in so many other places.

Government now provides free education in schools for the children I think it is very important that they should also ban this banded labour for children The children are not given a chance even to study when they are put on the jobs or in the farms. And when they grow up, they are without any future life. The poor children are suppressed by their masters as also by some other farmers or by the hotel keepers. I really feel that it is a sad sight to see the little children working for a little pittance—for a few rupees that they get at the end of a month. Their whole future is very bleak. Therefore, I would appeal that this should be enforced that child labour should be banned wherever it is in force.

One more important step that has been taken and that is working very well throughout the country is this. Now, the bureaucrats—the officers—are

really doing their duties well and they are performing their jobs which they were doing leisurely and carelessly previously. And I congratulate also the Minister for Railways, Shri Qureshi who has really done a very good job in the railways by going round personally and checking the ticketless travel. Now we can travel safely without our being harassed by the chain pulling every ten minutes on the journey. Now we find that if we phone up, the officers are there; the files are really moving fast. And I know the time when I had to wait for almost two years for a file to move. In Andhra Pradesh, I had to wait for a certain school. The children were on the street. Now I find that the work is being done more efficiently and files move fast. This shows that our officers are competent and are able to do the work if they only have the will to do it. I think Prime Minister has really geared up the machinery. The officers are working smoothly. The work is going on smoothly throughout the country. We are all proud of it and we know that in these circumstances, the country would really go forward with prosperity.

One thing more, and I am very happy about that. We used to find lawlessness and indiscipline in schools and colleges. Now they have disappeared. I hope they have really gone and they will never be returned. It is impossible to make the children to study in schools. The learning has faded away from the minds of most of the children. The lecturers and the teachers are not able to control the classes. They could do nothing about it. Now they are making them study. They are now more disciplined and are able to study better. The teachers are also able to do their job better. And I think that this is one of the best steps so that we will get really lit rate children coming up in the new generation in the near future. Ragging used to go on in the colleges. I am glad that this ragging is now stopped. Still I am sorry to state here that only yesterday in one of the papers I found that a student was once again ragged so much that he at once wanted to run away from the college but I find that was one olitary case. In the previous years every fresher to these colleges used to get disgusted on account of this ragging and it felt a lasting impression on the mind of these freshers.

Sir, this 20-point programme if worked out with the real intention behind it, I think our country should very soon be on its way to a lasting progress. I do hope that the Chief Ministers of the States will see to it that this 20-point programme gets implemented in their respective States so that we could all look forward to a state of healthy and literate working and quick progress in the near future.

श्री मोहन स्वरुप (पीलीभीत) : सभापति महोदय, मैं बहुत आपका आभारी हूं कि तीन दिन इतजार करने के बाद बोलने का अवसर प्राप्त हुआ है । प्रधान मत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने जो यह एमर्जेंसी-लागू की है यह बड़ी सामयिक है, साहसिक है और सराहनीय है और मै उसका अभिनन्दन करता हू । मैं ही नही, बल्कि देश के कोटि कोटि सर्वहारा व्यक्तियां ने और पिछड हुए व्यक्तियों ने इस कदम की सराहना की है । मेरी यह इच्छा है और भगवान से प्रार्थना है कि यह चले, अच्छ ढंग से लागू हो और इसके आग भी जो प्रोग्राम आने वासे हों वह आगे आएं तथा देश का कल्याण होले जब तक कि देश मे आर्थिक स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त नही होती है, उस वक्त तक राजनैतिक स्वतन्त्रता का कोई मतलब नहीं होता है । इस सदर्भ में यह जो 20 सूत्रीय प्रोग्राम आया है यह हर तरीके से प्रशंसनीय है, सराहना योग्य है और मुझे खुशी है कि इसमे मे बहुत सारे कार्यक्रम कार्यान्वित भी हो चुके हैं और कुछ होने जा रहे हैं ।

तो मैं उन पर ज्यादा चर्चा न करते हुए कुछ थोड़ी और बाते कहना चाहूंगा । जहां तक कि लैंड सीलिंग का प्रश्न है वह तो हो

[श्री मोहन स्वरूप]

हो चुका है औ आगे होने जा रहा है । उस पर बड़ी तेजी से काम हो रहा है और हो ही जायेगा क्योंकि आप जानते हैं कि हमारा जो खेती का पेशा है वह खुले हुए आसमान के नीचे है और वह जाहिर है, आंखों के सामने नजर आता है । लेकिन दुनिया में और पेशे हैं जो आंखों से नजर नहीं आते । दौलत है जो छिपी हुई है । इस देश में करोड़ों, अरबों रुपया ब्लैक मनी की शक्ल में छिपा हुआ है, करोड़ों अरबों रुपया इवेडेड टैक्स की शक्ल में है । उसको पकड़ने के लिए कोई अच्छे स्टेप नहीं उठाए गए हैं । अभी एमर्जेन्सी जब लागू हुई तो बड़े जोरों से चर्चा थी कि शहर की प्रापर्टी पर भी सीलिंग आएगी और हम लोगों को तसल्ली हुई थी, गांवों के लोगों को हम कहा करते थे कि गांव में खेती पर सीलिंग आई है तो कोई बात नहीं है, शहरों पर भी आने वाली है । कभी हम नारा लगाते थे कि "धन और धरती बंट कर रहेगी, भूखी जनता चुप न रहेगी", तो मैं उनसे कहता कि तुम नाराज क्यों होते हो, शहर पर भी सीलिंग आने वाली है । लेकिन मुझे यह देख कर थोड़ा सा अचरज हुआ कि शहरी प्रापर्टी पर कोई बिल इस सत्र में नहीं आ सका और मुझे इससे निराशा हुई । मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से कहना चाहूंगा कि शहरी प्रापर्टी पर भी जल्द से जल्द सीलिंग का बिल आना चाहिए, ताकि गांवों की जनता को भी थोड़ी सी राहत मिले और थोड़ा संतोष हो कि हम पर ही नहीं, बल्कि शहर वालों पर भी कुछ होने वाला है । इसके साथ साथ जो दौलत छिपी हुई है, जो ब्लैक मनी है उसे बाहर निकालना चाहिए ।

आप जानते हैं इस देश में 3 लाख 60 हजार गांव हैं जिनमें 350 मिलियन एकड़ धरती जोतने योग्य है । उसका अगर हिसाब किताब जोड़ा जाय तो एक डेढ़ एकड़ जमीन प्रति व्यक्ति पड़ेगी । गांवों में 83 प्रतिशत आदमी रहते हैं जिनमें कि 70 प्रतिशत आदमी खेती करते हैं और बाकी लोग लैंडलेस लेबरर हैं या बेकार रहते हैं, कोई काम उन के पास नहीं है । इन सब की हालत बहुत खराब है ।

मैं आपको एक बात और बताऊं कि देहात में ला एण्ड आर्डर सिचुएशन बहुत खराब होती जा रही है दिनों दिन और उसका फल यह हो रहा है कि लोग देहात से भाग कर शहरों में आ रहे हैं, शहरों में मकान बना रहे हैं, अर्बनाइजेशन हो रहा है । देहात से लोग जा रहे हैं और खेती की तरफ से जो फायदा होने वाला था वह नहीं हो रहा है । उसका कारण एक यह है कि खेती के जो टार्गेट बनते हैं वह ऊपर से बनते हैं, नीचे से नहीं बनते । किसान से तो कभी पूछा नहीं जाता कि तुमको किस चीज की आवश्यकता है, किस चीज की कमी है ? खेती के बारे में टार्गेट जो बनाते हैं वह दिल्ली के अन्दर हवादार कमरों मे बैठने वाले बनाते हैं । किसान से कभी पूछा नही जाता । प्राइस गेहूं की या पैडी की फिक्स की जाती है तो प्राइस कमीशन वाले फिक्स करते हैं । कौन होते हैं वह ? "एक्सपर्टस" कहलाते हैं जिनको खेती का पता नहीं होता । वह जानते नही हैं कि गेहूं की बाली और जौ की बाली में फर्क क्या है ? यह वह यदि बता दे तो मैं खेती करना छोड़ दूंगा । वे लोग हमारे गेहूं और पैडी का दाम फिक्स करते हैं । इसलिए मेरा वित्त मंत्री से अनुरोध है कि खेती की योजनाएं नीचे से बननी चाहिएं, नीचे से चलनी चाहिएं, तब वह कामयाब हो सकती हैं, अन्यथा वह कामयाब नहीं होंगी और इसी तरह वह फेल होती रहेंगी ।

हमारे बहुत से मित्रों ने शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के लोगों की बात की । यहां पर इस देश में एक और तबका है जिसको बैकवर्ड क्लासेज कहा जाता है । लेकिन बैकवर्ड क्लासेज की परिभाषा आज तक जो होम मिनिस्ट्री ने की है उसी को मान लिया

गया है, शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज को। लेकिन मैं आपको बतलाऊं कि बैकवर्ड क्लासेज की एक बहुत बड़ी तादाद है। मेरे बहुत से मित्र बैठ हैं, वह मेरे से सहमत होंग कि इनकी संख्या करोड़ों में जा कर बैठेगी। उनकी हालत को दुरुस्त करने के लिए काका साहेब कालेलकर की एक कमेटी बैठी थी और उसने एक रिपोर्ट भी सबमिट की थ। लेकिन वह रिपोर्ट कोल्ड स्टोरेज मे पड़ी हुई है। पता नही उस पर क्या हो रहा है? आज तक उसका पता नही लगा। मेरा निवेदन है कि आप जब सब लोगों को आगे बढ़ाना चाहते है और हमारा उद्देश्य यह है कि हम सब पिछड़े हुए लोगों को ऊपर उठाएं, हमारे 20 सूत्रीय कार्यक्रम का मतलब है गरीब लोगों को आगे बढ़ाना तो ये जो पिछड़ हुए लोग है जिनको आज तक नेगलेक्टेड रखा गया है उनको भी आगे बढ़ाया जाना चाहिए और उनको तभी बढ़ाया जा सकता है जब मालूम हो कि उनकी प्रबलम असल मे क्या है। उनकी प्राबलम तभी मालूम होगी जब उस रिपोर्ट पर डिस्कशन हो। तभी अपने आप सारी बातें सामने आएंगी।

देश मे बेकारी बहुत है। इस सिलसिले में मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि इलस्ट्रेटेड वीकली में एक आर्टिकल निकला है—चेंज दि पैटर्न आफ एजूकेशन। मैं चाहता हूं कि एजूकेशन का पैटर्न भी बदला जाना चाहिए। एजूकेशन "जाब ओरिएंटेड" हो। आज जो हम ग्रेजुएट्स निकाल रहे है कालेजों से वह बेकार आदमियों की एक फौज निकलती जा रही है, उस से कोई लाभ होने वाला नहीं है।

उसका एक पैराग्राफ़ यहां पर है पढ़ देना चाहता हूं:

"Everyone is anxious that India should not remain long as a poor country, but the public has yet to realise that appreciable progress in removing poverty cannot be made till illiteracy is removed. Literacy in India increased from about 14 per cent in 1947 to only 21 per cent in 1971 while the population increased at more than 2 per cent. We have, therefore, more illiterates today than in 1947 and we have the shameful distinction of having more than half the illiterates of the word".

दुनिया भर में जितने इल्लिट्रेट है उसके आधे केवल हमारे देश में ही हैं। यह कितनी शर्मनाक पोजीशन है। इस हालत को दुरुस्त करने के लिए भी हमको कुछ कदम उठाने चाहिए और वह तभी हो सकता है जबकि हम अपनी शिक्षा पद्धति को बदले। मेरी अपनी निगाह में हमारी शिक्षा पद्धति जब तक जाब ओरिएन्टेड न हो तब तक कोई फ़ायदा नहीं है। केवल ग्रेजुएट बना देने से या हाई स्कूल, इन्टर कर देने से कोई लाभ नहीं होगा। यह मेरा अपना निश्चित मत है और बहुत से दूसरे लोगो की भी ऐसी ही राय है।

हमने अपने गावों में अपनी सरकार की सहायता से कैश प्रोग्राम शुरू कर रखे थे और वह बड़े जोरों से चल रहे थे। उस प्रोग्राम के अन्तर्गत देहाती इलाकों में जितनी सड़कें बनी है उतनी पिछले 30 वर्षों में नहीं बनी थी। लेकिन अब उस काम को रोक दिया गया है। बहुत सी सड़कें तो ऐसी हैं जहां पर अर्थ-वर्क हो गया है वहां पर सारा मैटीरियल आ गया है, रोलर भी है, वाचमेन भी है और वहां पर मैटीरियल गायब हो रहा है, मिट्टी घुल घुल कर नीचे जा रही है और सारा सामान डेटेरियोटेट हो रही है। इस तरह से कैश प्रोग्राम के अन्तर्गत वहां पर जो खर्चा किया गया सड़क बनाने में और वह कार्य अधूरा रह गया है उसमें बड़ा नुकसान हो रहा है। मेरा निवेदन है कि अगर आप नयी सड़कें नहीं बना सकते हैं तो जो सड़कें अधूरी पड़ी हुई हैं उनको ही दुरुस्त

[श्री मोहन स्वरूप

करवा दीजिए । यह जो सड़कों का कम्युनिकेशन का काम है वह गावों में लाइफ़लाइन का काम देता है । देहात मे अगर एक गांव से दूसरे और हाट बाजार तक सड़कें हों तो बड़ी उन्नति हो सकती है । अभी अभी कुछ काश्तकार प्राइम मिनिस्टर से मिले थे तो उन्होंने कहा था कि मंडियां ज्यादा से ज्यादा खोली जायेंगी । मैं चाहता हूं उनका कथन सही साबित हो । सूबे की सरकारें केन्द्रीय सरकार की सहायता से ज्यादा से ज्यादा मंडियां देहाती इलाकों में खोलें ताकि किसान अपनी प्रोड्यूस मंडियों तक ले जा सके और वहां पर अच्छा पैसा प्राप्त कर सके । मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि अगर किसानों को इंसेन्टिव नही मिलेगा उसको उसकी मेहनत का मुआविजा नहीं मिलेगा तो वह खेती करना छोड़ देगा । वह गेहूं न बोकर गन्ना और सब्जी बोयेगा । वह धान नही बोयेगा कोई दूसरी चीज पैदा करेगा । फ़लस्वरूप जब गल्ले की कमी हो जायेगी तो आप कहेंगे हमारे सामने क्राइसिस आ रही है । इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि किसान को उसकी उपज का मुनासिब मूल्य मिलना चाहिए । पिछली बार एग्रीकल्चरल प्राइसेज कमीशन की रिपोट पर बहस के समय इस हाउस के तमाम लोगों ने कहा था कि किसान को गेहूं का मुनासिब पैसा मिलना चाहिए लेकिन वह बात नही मानी गई । जितने भी काश्तकार है सभी ने अपील की कि गेहूं का मुनासिब दाम मिलना चाहिए । आप 17 परसेन्ट आदमियो को जोकि शहरों मे रहते हैं उनका आप 83 परसेन्ट किसानो का कम कीमत पर गल्ला देकर खुश करना चाहते हैं । मैं स्वयं किसान हूं इसलिए उस लिहाज से कहता हूं कि जब हम बाजार में अपनी जरूरत की चीजे खरीदने के लिए जाते हैं तो ट्रैक्टर मंहगा, ट्रैक्टर के पार्टस मंहगे, डीज़ल मंहगा और हर चीज मंहगी है लेकिन जब आप गल्ला लेकर बाजार में जाते हैं तो वह सस्ता बिकता है । अभी फ़र्टिलाइज़र के दाम घटाने की बात कही गई है लेकिन उससे कोई खास लाभ नही होगा ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: You cannot go on like this; please conclude now. There are a number of speakers. Shri Swaran Singh Sokhi.

श्री मोहन स्वरूप : मै आपके हुक्म की पाबदी करते हुए समाप्त करता हूं ।

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH SOKHI (Jamshedpur): Sir, I welcome the new twenty point economic programme announced by the Prime Minister on the first of July this year which had been hailed not only by everybody in the country but also by those who were against the policies of the Government. It has also generated hope and encouragement in the minds of the people.

In this connection I have a few suggestions to make for its effective implementation. Every endeavour should be made to bring down prices of essential commodities and the administrative machinery of the Governments in the Centre and the States srould be geared up and streammed. Sazy, corrupt and communal-minded Government servants and officials should be dismissed immediately and no mercy should be shown because much harm had already been done by such officers and we cannot afford it any more. Land above the ceiling should immediately be confiscated and distributed among the landless poor and labour and Harijans and Adivasis, who are the actual sufferers; even after independence they are not independent. The State Governments should be asked to make time-bound programme. If any officer delays in executing the orders he should be arrested under the emergency. I personally know that there are so many such officers of the IAS and IPS cadre in Bihar who damn care for the economic programme of the Government because they have made enough

money and property for the rest of the life of themselves and their families. There are many social institutions like clubs, etc. in the country, such as the Gymkhana club at New Delhi and they have large areas lying unused. Such land should be taken over immediately and distributed among the middle-class people for building dwelling houses. Urban land and property ceiling should be imposed immediately during this session or by an Ordinance in the near future. Government should pay more attention towards family planning programme and one house per family should be built for the backward classes, who are six or seven crores in our population.

It is really surprising that even after three decades of independence, bonded labour system still exists in our country which should have been stopped immediately after Independence. This should be stopped immediately. No labour in Bihar is paid according to the Minimum Wages Act. The contractors and Government officials pocket fifty per cent of their wages while making weekly or monthly payments. Even Working women are asked to Work till late in the evening. Without pay. The Government should take immediate action and prosecute such persons.

Loans against small farmers and artisans should be written off; they are humiliated by the Government staff for petty sums. Under ground water should be pumped for irrigation. Something should also be done to control the floods in the country which come every year. I suggest that big rivers in the country should be joined from north to south and from east to west. Why cannot we do this when we can put Aryabhatta in space? Similarly power generation programme should be given the top priority and coal which is in abundance and plays the most important part should be sufficiently mined and transported to the steel plants, power houses, etc. especially to the Bokaro Steel Plant, where one biggest blast furnace in the country could not be commissioned for the last few months for want of coal. No coal should be imported as suggested by the SAIL under the Ministry of Steel and Mines. In our own country there is no dearth of coal. I cannot understand why such foolish suggestions are made by the officers in the Ministry of Steel and Mines. Thefts of power and equipment should be checked with strong hand immediately.

15 hrs.

Poor handloom weavers are still in the same condition and state of affairs as back as 30 years due to stepmotherly behaviour of the Government officials. They should not be allowed to suffer any more, if we really want to implement this programme.

The Income-tax Department raids on the luxurious houses in posh colonies in big cities should be carried out more vigorously as the recent raids have shown good results. The valuations of the conspicuous buildings should be properly assessed in big cities including the interior decorations which have been done by tax evasions and such buildings should be immediately confiscated.

Misuse of Import licences by any persons in the past should be scrutinised from the old records by the CBI and persons whether in Government or companies found guilty should be sent to jails under emergency and should be given the maximum punishment.

Issue of national road permits should be encouraged and should be issued to only deserving persons or companies and no old firm should be given the permits unless the educated

[Sardar Swaran Singh Sokhi]

unemployed youth are provided with the maximum benefits of these permits systems in the country.

The supply of essential commodities at controlled rates to the schools, colleges and hostels would certainly give relief to the parents and guardians to a great extent and by this scheme no politician can exploit the students for their personal gains any more, if this is done promptly.

Apprenticeship is a basic thing for entering into any trade or craft after the academic career without which the education is meaningless and no delay should be made in this regard. Necessary mobile workshops should be switched on for the backward and rural areas for this purpose, with trained technical staff.

Sir, with these words, I conclude my speech by again repeating that this 20 point economic programme should be vigorously implemented without any loss of time and the dedicated, honest and tested officers with clean records should be entrusted with this very very important job at every level whether in Centre or States, with strict watch on their day-to-day progress of work.

The officers should also be very careful in using their powers under the emergency—D.I.R. and MISA and that also without bias—so that the goal could be achieved within a limited period and any negligence on the part of the Government officials who are first of all public servants should be severely dealt with.

*SHRIMATI BHARGAVI THANKAPPAN (Adoor): Mr. Chairman, Sir, all the reactionary interests and left adventurists in the country joined together and hatched out an unprecedented conspiracy in the history of this country. We have faced that challenge boldly and we have tried to do something for the welfare of the poor people, the agricultural labourers etc. The Prime Minisetr, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, has brought forward this 20-point economic programme with the sole aim of ameliorating the manifold miseries of the masses of this country. I heartily welcome this economic programme.

Sir, in order to implement this economic programme effectively and expeditiously, we need all the courage. When the implementation of the programme has started, the prices of all essential commodities have started declining. In the case of many commodities, the prices have come down. It is really a welcome feature. In our country there are lakhs of poor homeless and landless people. A decision has been taken to give at least 10 cents of land each to the poor landless agricultural labourers. This is really to be commended. There are millions of poor people belonging to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other economically and socially backward communities. I request the Government to evolve a suitable and competent administrative machinery to distribute all the available surplus land to these people. Sir, in Kerala, the Land Reforms Act has already been implemented and in other States also such Land Reforms Acts have been passed But it is regrettable that in other States the land reforms legislations have not been implemented in their letter and spirit. There are many States where the surplus land has not been taken over and distributed. Therefore, my request is that land reforms should be implemented vigorously throughout the country forthwith, so that the depressed and oppressed people in our country can benefit from that.

*The original speech was delivered in Malayalam.

Sir, the bonded labour system has been continuing in this country. The Harijans, had taken a decision that this bonded labour should be abolished. Sir, that decisions was the Magna Carta of the Harijans of this country. But, even after 28 years of Independence, that decision remains on paper and it has not yet been implemented. There are heart-rending stories about the atrocities being committed on Harijans in many parts of the country. The Kerala Government has passed a legislation abolishing the bonded labour and this has been sent to the President for his assent. I hope that the President would give his assent soon to this Bill.

For the development of industry, we have to put many schemes into operation. Sir, the people belonging to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes should be given preference in the setting up of industries; they should be given financial aid and technical assistance by the Government. Similarly, in regard to agricultural development also, there should be no delay in putting into operation many schemes. There are many pending major irrigation projects in Kerala. For example, the Kallada project could not be completed on account of paucity of money. About Rs. 4.5 crores have already been invested on this project. This scheme requires Rs. 45 crores. I do not know when this scheme will be completed. These are very essential schemes for the agricultural advancement. There are many such similar schemes in other States also. I request that necessary steps should be taken immediately for implementing expeditiously all such schemes intended for the development of agriculture.

Sir, you know that coconut is the backbone of Kerala's economy. It is the duty of the Central Government to come to the rescue of millions of coconut growers in Kerala who are on the verge of extinction. I suggest that immediately a Coconut Board should be set up to extricate the millions of coconut growers from the clutches of penury and misery. It is very essential that necessary steps should be taken by the Central Government in this matter.

The wellknown commercial crops of Kerala are cashew-nut, cardamom, ginger, pepper etc., which earn valuable foreign exchange for the country. I am sorry to say that the Government has not given adequate and due attention to the development of such cash and commercial crops in Kerala. The Central Government should give liberal financial aid to the State Government for this purpose. Many cashew factories have been closed down in Kerala because they are not getting raw nuts. Now there is no possibility of getting raw cashew-nuts from African countries. It has become very necessary to start cashew plantations on a bigger scale wherever possible. The Kerala Government has chalked out the scheme for this purpose. But some States have not taken the cue from Kerala; they have not come forward to start cashew plantations. I recently visited the Agricultural University in Maharashtra. The authorities told me that they started a cashew plantation, but they did not meet with success. They felt that since the cashew plants were not properly nurtured, the cashew crops withered away. They could not pay necessary attention to this problem. Therefore, my request is that the Central Government should give definite instructions to all the States to start cashew plantations. Moreover, in Kerala, many cashew factories have now been closed. The Government of India must take steps to get all these cashew factories reopened, which is very essential for the very survival of Kerala's economy and also the poor people who are engaged in this industry.

Sir, I am very hapy that priority areas have been located in the matter of this 21-point economic pro-

[Shrimati Bhargavi Thankappan]

gramme, which when implemented will benefit the common people of our country. Sir, during this period of Emergency, this economic programme must be implemented vigorously. It is a welcome thing that the school-going children would be getting school books freely. In Kerala we are already giving books to the children freely. But it is not always possible to give books, pencils and such other stationery items to the children freely. We must be given financial aid by the Central Government so that the children in my State will be enabled to get all their educational requirements freely.

With these words, I conclude.

श्री अनादि चरण दास (जाजपुर) : सभापति जी प्रधान मंत्री द्वारा घोषित 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम का मैं समर्थन करते हुए कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूं। सब से पहली बात उसमें उत्पादन बढ़ाने की कही गई है। उत्पादन बढ़ेगा कैसे ? जो उत्पादन सामग्री होती है वह तो बड़े बड़े साहूकारों के हाथ में है चाहे जमीन हो, या कारखाना हो। इसलिए जब तक प्राइवेट सैक्टर को पब्लिक सैक्टर में नहीं लाते तब तक उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ सकता। अभी जो प्राइवेट और पब्लिक सैक्टर यह दो रास्ते जो चल रहे हैं यह ठीक नहीं हैं। इनको मिला कर पब्लिक सैक्टर में चलाना चाहिये। अभी इमरजेंसी है अगर इस समय हमने ऐसा नहीं किया तो फिर नहीं कर सकते और परिणाम यह होगा कि जो स्थिति इमरजेंसी से पहले थी वही बाद में हो जायेगी। हमारा लक्ष्य समाजवाद का है जो कठिन रास्ता है। समाजवाद बड़ी कठिनाई से आता है। समाजवाद के रास्ते में जो रुकावट हो उसको दूर करना चाहिए। यह 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम हमारे लिए गीता की तरह है। जिस प्रकार गीता का कितनी ही तरह से भाष्य किया गया है उसी तरह से 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के बारे में अपने अपने विचार प्रकट किये हैं जिनसे सरकार को बल मिलता है। लेकिन इसको अमल में लाने के लिए सरकार को दृढ़ता से काम करना चाहिए।

पूंजी जिस व्यक्ति के पास होती है वह शोषण करता है जबकि सरकार पूंजी को सबके लाभ के लिए खर्च करती है। इसलिए प्राइवेट लोगों के हाथ में जो पूंजी है वह जितनी कम हो सके उतना ही अच्छा है। यह पूंजी चाहे मनी लैंडर के पास हो, बिजनेश मैन के पास हो या कारखाने वाले के पास हो, पूंजी का अर्थ ही शोषण होता है। यदि सरकार के पास पूंजी आती है तो वह अच्छे काम में लाती है। इसलिए व्यक्तिगत पूंजी को कम किया जाय तभी हमारा उत्पादन बढ़ सकता है।

जहां तक लैंड सीलिंग की बात है यह ऐक्ट उड़ीसा में सब से अच्छा है लेकिन कुछ काम नहीं हो रहा है इस का कारण यह है कि जिन के पास ज्यादा जमीन है वही एडमिनिस्ट्रेटर और एम०एल०ए० बन कर बैठे हुए हैं जिसकी वजह से सीलिंग ला लागू नहीं हो रहा है। ऐसा सीलिंग ला मुझे पसन्द नहीं है। जमीन उत्पादन का साधन है इसलिए सम्पूर्ण जमीन को विलेज कम्युनिटी के नीचे लाइये। जमीन गांव की होती है जो लोग सचमुच कास्तकार हैं वही उसके मालिक होने चाहिएं और जमीन का उत्पादन समाज के लिए होना चाहिए जिसका वितरण या तो समाज करे या गांव की जनता करे या सरकार करे। लेकिन ऐसा न हो कर अभी यह होता है कि जमीन बड़े बड़े लोगों के हाथ में है, वह उस जमीन को छोड़ते नहीं और सरकार अगर कुछ सुधार करना चाहती है तो उसमें रुकावट लाते हैं। इसलिए जमीन विलेज कम्युनिटी की होनी चाहिए। जब तक ऐसा नहीं होगा तब तक उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ेगा।

इस कार्यक्रम में यह भी कहा गया है कि हरिजनों, आदिवासियों और भूमिहीनों को

मकान के लिए जगह दी जायगी। इस बारे में मेरा सुझाव है कि जो हरिजन, आदिवासी बड़े ज़मींदारों, राजा, महाराजाओं की ज़मीनों पर अभी बसे हुए हैं आप वही ज़मीन उनको मकान बनाने के लिये दे दीजिये। अलग से ज़मीन देने का झगड़ा ही न रखें। हो यह रहा है कि जो गरीब लोग बड़े-बड़े ज़मींदारों की ज़मीनों पर बसे हुए हैं उनको बड़े लोग मार मार कर निकाल देते हैं। यह चीज़ नहीं होनी चाहिए, इस पर सरकार को शीघ्र ध्यान देना चाहिए।

जहां तक बौंडेड लेबर प्रथा को समाप्त करने की बात है, मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि इसके लिये मुझे कई बार जेल जाना पड़ा। उड़ीसा में 1956 में डेट बौंडज एक्ट बना। वहां प्रथा यह है कि साहुकार और ज़मींदार लोग आदिवासी लोगों को अपने घर में नौकर रख लेते हैं जो उनके यहां काम करते हैं और उसके एवज में उनको खाना मिलता है तथा 5 रु० सालाना तन्खवाह। यदि किसी ने जरूरत पड़ने पर 100 रु० कर्ज़ ज़मींदार से ले लिया तो उसकी कटौती 5 रु० सालाना के हिसाब से 20 साल में होगी। लेकिन बीच में कभी न कभी पैसे की जरूरत हर इन्सान को पड़ती रहती है जिसकी वजह से वह गरीब आदमी जीवन भर उस पैसे को नहीं चुका पता और जीवन पर्यन्त वह ज़मींदार का कर्जदार रहता है और उसके बदले में उसे सारी उम्र उस ज़मींदार के यहां काम करना पड़ता है। इस कुप्रथा को समाप्त करने में सरकारी नौकर भी कोई मदद नहीं करते। मेरे समय में एक कलेक्टर, जो गरीब का लड़का था, उसने हमारी मदद की। लेकिन स्वतंत्र दल की सरकार ने उस कलेक्टर का वहां से तबादला कर दिया यह कह कर कि यह अच्छा आदमी है इनकी दूसरी जगह आवश्यकता है। इस प्रकार स्वतंत्र दल की सरकार ने अच्छे कामों में रुकावट डाली। मुझे खुशी है कि इस प्रथा को समाप्त करने की ओर सरकार ने कदम बढ़ाया है। मेरा निवेदन है कि इस दिशा में सरकार को दृढ़ता से कदम उठाना चाहिए जिससे गरीब लोगों को राहत मिले। इस वजह से यह जो कठिन रास्ता है, इसके बारे में जरूर विचार करना चाहिए।

जहां तक डेट्स का सम्बन्ध है, उसके बारे में मेरा यह सुझाव है कि जहां पर प्राइवेट मनी-लैंडर्स हैं, उनको एबोलिश कर देना चाहिए और जहां पर उनको खत्म कर दें वहां पर आपको बैंक्स, कोआपरेटिव बैंक या कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटी खोलनी चाहिए जो कि उन लोगों को कर्ज़ दे। अगर ऐसा आप करेंगे तो मनी लैंडर्स द्वारा जो शोषण होता है, वह बन्द होगा।

वीकर सेक्शन्स के लिए आप ने प्रोग्राम बनाया है और आप ने टी०डी०ए० बनाये हैं लेकिन उनसे ट्राइबल लोगों को कोई मैटीरियल गेन नहीं होता है। मान लीजिये कि वे कोई रोड बनाते हैं या कुएं बनाते हैं या कोई दूसरी चीज़ बनाते हैं, तो वे कांट्रक्टर्स द्वारा बनाये जाते हैं, तो उनसे ट्राइबल लोगों का कोई मैटीरियल गैन नहीं है। हमारा कहना तो यह है कि अगर आप हमारे बाल-बच्चों को पढ़ाने की व्यवस्था करें और उसके लिए ज्यादा पैसा खर्च करें, तो वे अपना रास्ता अपने आप बना लेंगे। टी०डी०ए० से हम को कोई खास फायदा नहीं होता है। पहले साहूकार शोषण करते थे और अब टी०डी०ए० के सरकारी लोग शोषण करते हैं। ट्राइबल डेवलपमेंट के नाम पर सारा जंगल ले लिया और पहले साहूकार जंगल की प्रोड्यूस लेकर खर्च करता था, अब ये लोग खर्च करते हैं। इस तरह से उन लोगों को कोई फ़ायदा नहीं मिलता है। इसलिए मेरा कहना यह है कि हमारे बच्चों को एजुकेशन मिलनी चाहिए और उनको होसपिटल्स में रख कर सब बन्दोबस्त उनके लिए करना चाहिए और उनकी पढ़ाई होनी चाहिए। अगर आदिवासियों और हरिजनों के बच्चे पढ़ जायेंगे, तो वे अपना रास्ता अपने आप जरूर निकाल लेंगे।

[श्री अनादि चरण दास]

एक और बात करघे के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं। करघे का आप सुधार करना चाहते हैं। मेरा कहना यह है कि खादी और विलेज इंडस्ट्री में भी सुधार किया जाये। अभी विलेज इंडस्ट्रीज में क्या होता है कि उस को अधिष्ठान चलाता है। आप के चरखे का सुधार हो गया है और करघे का सुधार हो गया है। उसके लिए आप इंडिविजुअल्स को बैंकों द्वारा सहूलियतें नहीं देते हैं। यह काम खादी कमीशन करता है। इस में भी सुधार होना चाहिए। मान लीजिए, मुझे एक चरखा चाहिए, तो मुझे खादी कमीशन के पास जाना पड़ेगा। वह कहता है कि आप सोसाइटी बना लो और उस को पैसा मिल जायेगा लेकिन एक चरखा 750 रुपये में आ जाता है और अगर उतना रुपया मुझे मिल जाये, तो मैं उसको खरीद सकता हूं और दो, तीन रुपये कमा सकता हूं। इसलिए मेरा कहना यह है कि खादी कमीशन जो चल रहा है, उसके काम मे सुधार करना चाहिए। विलेज इंडस्ट्रीज को खादी कमीशन चलाता है और इस को सुधारने की आवश्यकता है। अगर लोगों को पैसा मिल जाता है और वे अपना काम करना शुरू कर दें, तो इस से उन लोगों को ज्यादा लाभ होगा। मेरा कहना यह भी है कि जहां पर हरिजन कन्सनट्रेटेड हैं, वहां पर आप उनके लिए प्रोजेक्ट बनाते हैं, उसी तरह से ट्राइबल लोगों के लिए प्रोजेक्ट बनाना चाहिए।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूं और इस 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम का समर्थन करता हूं।

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY (Nizamabad): The time has been extended only to accommodate all those on the list. If each Member is given only five minutes, all of them can be accommodated.

MR. CHAIRMAN: What can I do? Members are not co-operating.

श्री जांबुवंत धोटे (नागपुर) : सभापति महोदय, 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम हमारे देश के लिए और इस सरकार के लिए नया कार्यक्रम नहीं है। 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम या 21 सूत्री कार्यक्रम या ऐसे कई सूत्री कार्यक्रम, हमारे देश में सरकार की ओर से और सरकारी दल की ओर से लाये गये हैं। कांग्रेस दल का अवाडी का अधिवेशन हुआ, उसमें समाजवाद की गाथा गाई गई, भुवनेश्वर के अधिवेशन में भी यही बातें कही गईं, 1972 का जब चुनाव आया, उस वक्त भी 'गरीबी हटाओ' का नारा बुलन्द करके यही बातें कही गईं और आज फिर से 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम या आर्थिक कार्यक्रम जो देश के सामने रखा गया है, इस 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम में भी वही बातें कही गई हैं लेकिन खुशी की बात यह है कि आज इसमे समाजवाद की लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें नहीं कही गई हैं, इसमें सरकार ने यह नहीं कहा कि हमारा कैरेक्टर समाजवादी है या हम समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं। इसलिए हमें उम्मीद है कि इस 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के ऊपर पार्टी-इन-पावर की ओर से अमल किया जा सकेगा।

अब प्रश्न यह है कि इस 20 सूत्री आर्थिक कार्यक्रम को इस देश में अमल में लाने के लिए, इस देश का सारा माहौल बदलवाने के लिए क्या आपातकालीन स्थिति इस देश में जरूरी थी या नही। यह बात सही है कि आपातकालीन स्थिति जाहिर करके और उसकी घोषणा होते ही बहुत सारी अच्छी बातें हम देख रहे हैं। जादू का सा असर इस आपातकालीन स्थिति का जन-सामान्य पर, ब्योरोक्रेसी पर और हाउस पर भी हुआ, लेकिन इसका मतलब यह नहीं कि आपातकालीन स्थिति निहायत जरूरी थी। प्रश्न यह है कि आपातकालीन स्थिति जाहिर की गई है, वह राजनीतिक थी, सामाजिक थी, आर्थिक थी, जरूरी थी या नहीं थी, यह प्रश्न अलहदा है। प्रश्न यह है कि इस आपातकालीन स्थिति का इस्तेमाल हम काहे के लिए कर रहे हैं। इस आपातकालीन स्थिति का इस्तेमाल

यदि केवल कुर्सी कायम रखने के लिए, गद्दी पर बैठे रहने के लिए हम करते हैं, तो भविष्य में आने वाला काल हमे कभ, क्षमा नही करेगा। इस देश में हम सब के लिए, हर आदमी के लिए यह एक सुनहरा मौका आया है और इम सुनहरे मौके को, इम आपातकालीन स्थिति को यदि हम सही ढं से इस्तेमाल करते है, तो हम इस देश की हालत को, इस शस्य श्यामला तथा सुजला भूमि को, जो सोने का धूरा बाहर निकालती है, बहुत अच्छा बना सकते है। इस आपात-कालीन स्थिति की घोषणा होने के बाद, जिन लोगो को गिरफ्तार किया गया है, वे लोग यदि इस 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के अमल मे बाधा नही लाते और जो गिरफ्तार किये हुए लोग हैं इस हाउस के या हाउस के बाहर वे यदि इस 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम को अमल मे लाने के लिए मदद करते है और प्रतिज्ञा ले कर वह ऐसा करने के लिए तैयार है, तो उन सारे लोगो को तुरन्त रिहा करना चाहिए। इस 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम की घोषणा के बाद अगर कुछ लोग आप के पास आ कर इस के समर्थन के लिए कहते है और उन को हम नेशनेलिस्ट समझते है और प्रोग्रेसिव समझते है, तो यह ठीक नही होगा। इस 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम का इस देश मे किस ने विरोध किया है, यह देखना चाहिए। जो लोग जेल में है वे इस के समर्थक नही है और जो बाहर हैं वे सारे इस के विरोध नही है, ऐसी बात नहीं है। डर की वजह से अगर कोई समर्थन करता है तो वह अलग बात है। मतलब के लिए अगर कोई समर्थन आपका करता है तो अलग बात है। बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम के मार्ग से जो-जो बाधाये हैं उनको हमें दूर करना चाहिये। जो भी बाधा खड़ी करता है उसके लिए हमारे पास कोई गह नहीं होनी चाहिये, उसकी जगह जेल के अन्दर होनी चाहिये। जो जेल के अन्दर हैं वे भी अगर बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम का समर्थन करते हैं और सक्रियता से करते हैं तो उनके वास्ते जेल के दरवाजे खोल देने चाहिये और उनको रिहा कर देना चाहिये।

इस बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम को अमल मे लाने में कौन लोग हैं जो बाधायें खड़ी करते है, जो दिक्कतें पैदा करते है, अड़गे लगाते हैं। एक तो ब्यूरोक्रेसी है जो कि अडंगे लगाती है। दूसरे पूजीवादी वर्ग है, उद्योगपति है और उसके दलाल हैं जो दिक्कतें और रोड़े खड़े करते है। तीसरे वेस्टिड इंटरेस्ट है जो हाउस के उधर भी बैठे हुए है और इस तरफ भी बैठे हुए है, अन्दर भी है और हाउस के बाहर भी है। आप पार्टी इस पावर मे कई जमीदार है और अपोजीशन मे भी कई जमीदार है। पार्टी इस पावर मे कई उद्योगपति है और इस तरफ बैठने वालों मे भी कई उद्योगपति हैं। यहां तक कि कैबिनेट मे भी पूजीवादियों के दलाल बैठे हुए हैं और इधर भी बैठे हुए है। ये सब इस कार्यक्रम को अमल मे लाने के रास्ते में अंड़गें खड़े करते हैं। यदि इन तीनो वर्गों का बन्दोबस्त करना है तो चाहे वे अन्दर हो या हाउस के बाहर इनका स्थान यहां या बाहर नही है, आजादी से घूमने का नही है, इन तीनो वर्गों के वास्ते अगर कोई जगह हो सकती है जेल के अन्दर ही हो सकती है, सींखचों मे ही बन्द करके इनको आपको रखना पड़ेगा। जब तक इनको बाहर रखा जाता है, बड़े जमीदारों को, उद्योगपतियो को और उसके दलालों को और वैस्टड इंटरेस्ट्स को स्वतंत्रतापूर्वक घूमने दिया जाता है और उनको रोड़े अटकाने की छूट दी जाती है तब तक इस कार्यक्रम के ऊपर वे अमल कैसे होने दे सकते हैं, यह प्रश्न आपके सामने है जिस पर आपको विचार करना है।

मैं और मेरा दल बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम का हमेशा से हिमायती रहा है। इसलिए हम कह रहे हैं कि इस कार्यक्रम में भूमिहीन मजदूरों और भूमिहीन किसानों का उल्लेख

[श्री जंबुवंत धोटे]

किया गया है जो इस देश में सब से बड़ी संख्या में हैं। दूसरे नम्बर पर हथकरघों पर काम करने वाले बुनकर आते हैं। दूसरे नम्बर पर बड़ी संख्या उनकी है । तीसरे नम्बर पर बीड़ी मजदूर आते हैं जिन का उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है । मैं समझता हूं कि यदि भूमिहीन मजदूरों, भूमिहीन किसानों, छोटे किसानों जिस में खास तौर पर आदिवासी और मददलित आते हैं और बीड़ी मजदूरों के हित में इस इमरजेंसी का इस्तेमाल किया गया, यदि उनके उत्थान के लिए किया गया और सच्चे मानों में उनका उत्थान हो गया तो इसके लिए आपकी सराहना ही की जाएगी । इसीलिए हम इस कार्यक्रम का समर्थन कर रहे हैं । केवल जबानी समर्थन नहीं बल्कि सक्रियता के साथ हम इस का समर्थन करते हैं ।

केवल तकरीरों से बात नहीं बनेगी । जो भी पूंजीवादी वर्ग या उसके दलाल या वैस्टिड इंटरेस्ट या ब्यूरोक्रेसी इस कार्यक्रम को अमल में लाने में बाधक बनती है उनके खिलाफ आपको कठोर और सख्त कार्रवाई करनी होगी । बातें बहुत हो चुकी हैं । अब अमल का वक्त है । आप सीलिंग की बात कर रहे हैं । गांवों में जमीन की सीलिंग की बातें बहुत होती हैं लेकिन शहरों में सीलिंग की आप क्यों नहीं करते हैं वहां सीलिंग मकानों पर क्यों नहीं लगाते हैं । गांवों पर ही हमारा सारा जोर है । देश का जितना काला धन है वह सारा शहरों में ऊंची ऊंची इमारतों और महलों में समाया हुआ है, उन्हीं में लगा हुआ है । समुद्र को रिक्लेम करके छः छः और सात सात हजार रुपये प्रति वर्ग गज के हिसाब से जमीन को बेच दिया गया है और वहां पर गगनचुम्बी अट्टालिकायें बन गई हैं । इन्हीं इमारत वालों को परमिट आदि मिलते हैं । इस सब का हिसाब होना चाहिये और शहरी सम्पत्ति के ऊपर सीलिंग लगनी चाहिये । शहरी सम्पत्ति पर सीलिंग लागू करने वाला कानून पहले आना चाहिये । एक एक फ्लैट और एक एक बड़ी ऊंची इमारत चाहे वह दिल्ली, बम्बई, कलकत्ता, मद्रास आदि कहीं भी हो उसको देखा जाना चाहिये । एक ऊंची इमारत शहर में गांव के सारे धन के बराबर है । जमीन सारी जो गांव में है और गांव के बाहर भी है उतनी कीमत की नहीं है जितनी एक ऊंची इमारत है । इसकी तरफ आपका ध्यान जाना चाहिये । इसकी तरफ हमारे जन प्रतिनिधियों का ध्यान जाना चाहिये । उद्योगपति जिन के हाथ में सारा आर्थिक सूत्र है, इनकी ओर सरकार का ध्यान जाना चाहिये । अगर आपको नैशनलाइजेशन की बात करनी है क्योंकि समाजवाद की बातें बहुत हो रही हैं तो सब से पहले आपको टैक्सटाइल उद्योग का नैशनलाइजेशन करना चाहिये, उसके बाद शूगर फैक्ट्रियों का और फिर सिमेंट के कारखानों का । इनका आप क्यों नेशनलाइजेशन नहीं करते हैं । इन तीनों का यदि आपने नेशनलाइजेशन किया तो हमारा आर्थिक ढांचा बदल सकता है । इससे देश में जादू का सा असर होगा । सारा हमारा जोर और नजरिया गांवों की तरफ है । शहरों की तरफ भी होना चाहिये ।

दामों का प्रश्न भी बहुत महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न है और बहुत बड़ा प्रश्न है । मैं चाहता हूं कि इसके ऊपर सदन में अलग से चर्चा होनी चाहिये, बहस होनी चाहिये और सदस्यों को इसके बारे में कनक्रीट सजैशन देने का मौका मिलना चाहिये ।

अब देखें कि जितना सोना सारे संसार में है उस में सबसे ज्यादा सोना हमारे यहां के लोगों के पास है और सारे संसार की सरकारों के पास जितना सोना है उस से कम सोना हमारी सरकार के पास है । सब से ज्यादा सोना संसार के देशों में हमारे देश में है और सब से कम सोना संसार की सरकारों में से हमारी

सरकार के पास है। यह सब सोना शहरों में हैं। इसको आप निकालें। बैंक्स आदि में सेफ डिपाजिट लाकरों में तथा घरों में यह रखा हुआ है। यह जो सब पैसा है सोना है, हीरे जवाहरात हैं इनका हिसाब होना चाहिये, यह सब बाहर आना चाहियें। आपको अलग से कानून बना कर विदेशी बैंकों में भी जो खाते खोले गए हैं या सोना आदि रखा गया है उन सरकारों से मदद ले कर पच्चास हजार छोड़ करके बाकी सब अधिकार में ले लेना चाहिये। यह पैसा चाहे यहां के बैंकों में रखा हो या विदेशो के बैंकों में रखा हो। इस सोने और पैसे का इस्तेमाल गरीब लोगों का तथा देशका उत्थान करने के लिए किया जाना चाहिये।

बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम के सम्बन्ध में हमारे सदस्य श्री राम हेडाऊ ने एक संशोधन पेश किया जो यहां रखा नहीं जा सका है। हमारे यहां पर बेकारी ने विषमरूप धारण किया हुआ है, भयानक यहा पर विषमता है, इस सब को अगर आप हल करना चाहते हैं, गरीबों का कल्याण करना चाहते हैं, गरीबों का उत्थान करना चाहते हैं, प्रगति करना चाहते हैं, जिनका यह देश और राष्ट्र है और जो भूखे तड़पते हैं, मरते हैं, दर-दर की ठोकरें खाते फिरते हैं, उनके वास्ते यदि आप कुछ करना चाहते हैं तो जर और धन को आपको खत्म करना होगा। यह आसान बात नहीं है। इधर और उधर दोनों तरफ़ के कुछ लोग हैं जो इसके विरोधी हैं। जर और धन छोड़ना कोई आसान बात नहीं है। लोग अपनी बीवी को छोड़ सकते हैं लेकिन जर और धन को छोड़ना नहीं चाहते हैं। मैं चाहता हूं कि सख्ती से उसके ऊपर प्रतिबन्ध लगाया जाए और जो मालिकाना अधिकार है उनको छीन लिया जाये।

यहां छोटी-छोटी बातें कही जाती हैं। हेल्थ मिनिस्टर उठते हैं और फ़ैमिली प्लानिंग की बात करने लग जाते हैं। सदस्यों द्वारा भी इसकी बात की जाती है। लेकिन आप देखें कि जब आदमी पैदा होता है तो केवल पेट लेकर पैदा नहीं होता है, दो बाजू और दिमाग ले कर भी पैदा होता है, सिर ले कर भी पैदा होता है। उसके हाथों का इस्तेमाल होना चाहिये। मैनपावर का इस्तेमाल करना सीखना चाहिये। यदि चीन से हमें कुछ लेना है, तो यही लेना चाहिये। चीन हमारे एक साल बाद आजाद हुआ था, और वह भी रेवोल्यूशनरी ढंग से आजाद हुआ था, टेबल पर बैठ कर किसी से समझौता करके नहीं। उससे हमें यह शिक्षा लेनी चाहिये कि मैनपावर का इस्तेमाल कैसे होना चाहिये।

आज फ़ैमिली प्लानिंग पर करोड़ों रुपये तथा कितनी मेहनत और शक्ति का अपव्यय किया जाता है। फ़ैमिली प्लानिंग के लिए कोई योजना लाने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम में कोई 21वां सूत्र जोड़ने की भी आवश्यकता नहीं है। कई सूत्र और कई कामसूत्र चले जायेंगे। इससे काम नहीं चलेगा। फ़ैमिली प्लानिंग अननेचुरल है, अनैसर्गिक है। इस पर अमल नहीं हो सकता है। यह पाखंडियों की बात है। जब सारे लोगों को खत्म करने का विचार है, तो फिर यहां हमारी जरूरत क्या है? जब सारे लोगों को मार डालना है, तो फिर समाजवादी अर्थ-व्यवस्था पूंजीवादी अर्थ-व्यवस्था या मिश्रित अर्थव्यवस्था की जरूरत क्या है?

आज हमें यह निश्चय करना चाहिये कि हम कहां जाना चाहते हैं, क्या करना चाहते हैं और कौन सा रास्ता अपनाना चाहते हैं। हमें इस बात पर गौर करना चाहिये कि इस पार्लियामेंटरी डेमोक्रेसी में केवल कैपिटलिस्ट और उनके दलाल प्रोटेक्ट होते हैं। वे आपोजीशन की ओर से भी प्रोटेक्ट होते हैं। और पार्टी इन पावर की तरफ़ से भी प्रोटेक्ट होते हैं। आखिर यह फ़ासिकल ड्रामा कितने दिन तक चलाना है? हमें इसको सोचना

[श्री जाबुवत घं टे]

चाहिये । जिस डेमोक्रेसी में हमारे लोगों का कल्याण नहीं है, उनकी बात नहीं है और उनकी जुबान नहीं है, उस डेमोक्रेसी को तोड़ डाल., फेंक दो । यहां पर वन-मैन डेमोक्रेसी रहनी चाहिये । रूस वाले वन-पार्टी डेमोक्रेसी की बात करते है । हम कहते है कि यहां पर वन-मैन डेमोक्रेसी की जाये ।

जब स्वाधीनता की लड़ाई चल रही थी और लोग आजादी के लिये फ़ासी के तख्ते पर लटक रहे थे, उस वक नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस कहते थे कि यह स्वाधीनता की लडाई चल रही है राजनैतिक स्वाधीनता के लिये, और आर्थिक स्वाधीनता की लड़ाई हमे अपने आजाद देश में लड़नी पडेगी । लोगो की भलाई के लिये, पददलितों, गरीबो और डाउन-ट्राड के कल्याण के लिये वन-मैन्ज डेमोक्रेसी लानी चाहिये । 60 करोड़ की जन-संख्या का हमारा देश है । उसमे 58 करोड़ लोगों की डेमोक्रेसी होगी और 2 करोड़ लोगों पर डिक्टेटरशिप । मै उसका समर्थन करता हूं ।

पार्लियामेंटरी डेमोक्रेसी और चुनाव पर धन और कुव्वत का जो खर्चा होता है, उतना खर्चा किसी और काम पर नही होता है । इसलिये चुनावो पर पाबन्दी लगाई जाये । यह पार्लियामेंट डिजाल्व हो । कोई जरूरत नहीं है इसकी । अगर इसको रखना ही है, तो इस देश में कम से कम पांच साल के लिये चुनाव न हो । चुनाव पर धन और कुव्वत का बेकार खर्चा होता है । इसलिये चुनाव जरूरी नहीं है और इस पर पाबन्दी लगानी चाहिये ।

हमारे साथी कहते है कि यह बड़ी सुन्दर कल्पना है । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि डेमोक्रेसी का नाम लेकर यहां सारे सरमायादार बैठे हैं । यह बात बड़ी अजीब लगती है कि इस सदन में बैठने वाला पूंजीवादी कहता है कि वह सोशलिस्ट है । समझ में नहीं आता कि एयर-कन्डीशन्ड भवन में बैठ कर सोशलिज्म कैसे आता है ।

दोनो तरफ़ के सदस्यों को अपनी प्रापर्टी जाहिर करनी चाहिये । उन्हें यह हिसाब देना चाहिये कि दस साल पहले उनके पास कितनी प्रापर्टी थी और आज कितनी प्रापर्टी है ?

श्रीराम हेडाऊ के जरिये हमने जो कार्यक्रम रखा है, अगर उस पर अमल किया गया, तो इस देश मे सही मानो मे तब्दीली आयेगी । हम पूरे दिल और जान से उसका समर्थन ही नही करेंगे, सिपाही, हम्माल और कुली की हैसियत मे इसको अमल में लाने के लिये सबके साथ रहेंगे ।

श्री चिरंजीब झा (सहरसा) सभापति महोदय, किस भयावह, विस्फ़ोटक और विध्वंसकारी परिस्थिति के कारण समाज के सम्पूर्ण ढाचे और लोकतंत्र के लिये गम्भीर खतरा उपस्थित हो गया था, जिसके कारण आपातकालीन स्थिति की घोषणा की गई, मै उसकी तफ़सील मे नही जाना चाहता, क्योकि सारा देश और सारा सदन उसका साक्षी है ।

आपातकालीन स्थिति की घोषणा के बाद से ही देश के प्रत्येक क्षेत्र मे, इन एव्री वाक आफ़ लाइफ़, अनुशासन, लगन, कार्यक्षमता और कर्त्तव्यनिष्ठा की भावना की जो अभिव्यक्ति हुई है, वह सराहनीय और प्रशंसनीय है । छात्रगण अध्ययन के लिये स्कूल-कालेजो मे शालीनता और निष्ठा के साथ जाने लगे है । अधिकारी तथा कर्मचारी-गण समय पर अपने आफ़िस आने लगे हैं । लोगों की बातें सुविधानुसार सुनी जाने लगी हैं और उन का काम भी होने लगा है । यहां तक कि अब ट्रेनें भी समय पर चलने लगी हैं । लगता है कि हम कलियुग के बाद सत्ययुग में प्रवेश कर गये हैं, घोर अन्धकार से प्रकाश में आ गये हैं ।

15.45 hrs.

[SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT *in the Chair*]

इस तरह देश के जीवन-क्रम में अनुशासन, गति और प्रकाश के वातावरण के उद्भूत होते ही देश की सम्माननीय नेता, प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी, ने द्रुत गति से आर्थिक विकास के लिये देश के समक्ष 20-सूत्री आर्थिक कार्यक्रम का प्रस्तुत किया है। उनकी इस घोषणा से यह भी स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि उन्होंने सर्वप्रथम देश के सबसे पिछड़े, दबे उपेक्षित, अन्टु वो लस्टि वर्ग की ओर ध्यान दिया है, जो सर्वथा उचित और सराहनीय, है।

आजादी के बाद देश ने हर क्षेत्र में काफ़ी प्रगति की है, उत्पादन और दौलत भी बढ़ी है, इसमें सन्देह नहीं है, किन्तु उसका लाभ अपेक्षाकृत अधिक समृद्धशाली और सम्पन्न लोगों को ही मिला है। यही कारण है कि आज हमारे प्रधान मंत्री का ध्यान सब से नीचे के, उपेक्षित, दबे और पिछड़े हुए वर्ग की ओर गया है। अब तक समृद्ध और सम्पत्तिशाली लोगों को विकास का लाभ मिलता रहा है, प्रवाह के इस रुख को अब हमें बदल देना है और उसको निम्न लोगों की ओर मोड़ देना है। अब तक इस निम्न वर्ग के लोगों की जो उपेक्षा होती रही है, उसी का परिणाम यह है कि समाज की नींव-स्वरूप यह निम्न वर्ग राष्ट्र के विकास-कार्यक्रम में अपने को शरीक नहीं कर पा रहा था। लोकतांत्रिक समाजवादी पद्धति में जब तक हर विकास कार्यक्रम में सक्रिय जन-सहयोग और जन-समर्थन नहीं प्राप्त होता है तब तक वह सफल नहीं हो सकता है।

आज का प्रशासन हमारे स्वीकृत लोकतांत्रिक समाजवादी कार्यक्रम के प्रति प्रतिबद्ध, कमिटेड, नहीं हो पाया है। यही कारण है कि प्रशासन पूरी निष्ठा और लगन के साथ हमारे इस कार्यक्रम को कार्यान्वित और सफल करने में जुट नहीं पाता है। आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि संसद और विधायिका की तरह प्रशासन और न्यायपालिका को भी देश और समय की मांग के अनुरूप लोकतांत्रिक समाजवादी पद्धति के प्रति निष्ठा के साथ प्रतिबद्ध हो जाना चाहिए।

सरकार को चाहिए कि संविधान में संशोधन करके, जैसे भी सम्भव हो, प्रशासन और न्यायपालिका को इस रूप में ढाला जाये और दृढ़ता के साथ इसका पालन कराया जाये। न्यायपालिका के प्रति पूर्ण सम्मान रखते हुए भी हमें यह कहने में हिचक नहीं है कि अक्सर न्यायपालिका का फैसला हमारे लक्ष्य और उद्देश्य के ठीक विपरीत हो जाता है, जिससे भारत जैसे विकासशील देश के आगे बढ़ने की गति में अवरोध पैदा हो जाता है। इसे अविलम्ब रोका जाना चाहिए। इधर प्रशासन को भी हाकिमाना रवैया छोड़ कर जनता के सेवक के रूप में उसी निष्ठा से काम करना चाहिए। ऐसा नहीं करने वाले तथा भ्रष्ट अधिकारियों के खिलाफ कड़ी से कड़ी कार्यवाही की जानी चाहिए।

यह प्रसन्नता की बात है कि आवश्यक उपभोग की सामग्री के मूल्य में गिरावट आई है। यह शुभ लक्षण है। वित्त मंत्री जी से मेरा खास आग्रह है कि वे इस ओर पूर्ण साकांक्ष रहें कि मूल्य में गिरावट कहीं एकांगी नहीं हो। खेत और कारखाने के उत्पादन मूल्य में आनुपातिक गिरावट आनी चाहिए, अन्यथा यह गिरावट भी राहत के बजाय एक बोझ हो जायगी, एक समस्या पैदा कर देगी।

समय बद्ध कार्यक्रम के रूप में भूमि हदबन्दी, अतिरिक्त भूमि का कृषि कार्य में संलग्न भूमिहीन मजदूरों में वितरण, आवासीय जमीन का पर्चा देना, कृषि मजदूरों को निर्धारित निम्नतम मजदूरी दिया जाना, शहरी जमीन तथा सम्पत्ति का भी सीमा-निर्धारण करना, तथा तस्करों की सम्पत्ति जब्त करना आदि सभी कार्यक्रमों को द्रुत गति से लागू करने की व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिए।

[श्री चिरंजीव झा]

अन्त में मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि शिक्षित बेरोजगारों की एक बहुत गम्भीर समस्या देश के सम्मुख उपस्थित है । उसे दूर करने के लिए नई एप्रेन्टिसशिप की योजना प्रारम्भ किया जाना, मिनि बस चलाने की सुविधा देना तथा कपड़ा आदि आवश्यक उपभोक्ता सामग्री की वितरण-व्यवस्था में उन्हें संलग्न करना—ये सभी कार्यक्रम उचित दिशा में सही कदम हैं । लेकिन मेरे विचार में पिछड़े क्षेत्रों के औद्योगिक कृषि तथा यातायात सम्बन्धी विभिन्न विकास कार्यक्रमों को प्राथमिकता दिए जाने से अधिक से अधिक ऐसे बेरोजगार युवकों को रोजी मिल सकेगी । अतः उस तरफ सरकार का विशेष ध्यान जाना चाहिए ।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं वित्त मंत्री जी के प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूं ।

डा० गोविन्द दास रिछारिया (झांसी): सभापति महोदय, प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जो यह 21 सूत्रीय कार्यक्रम दिया है उसका इस लोक सभा ने ही नहीं सारे देश ने स्वागत किया है । तमाम नौजवान देश के और तमाम पार्टियां उसमें कार्य करना चाहती हैं । लेकिन मैं आपके द्वारा भारत सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं कि आज एक महीना चार दिन होने के बाद भी सारे देश में जो लोग आपके साथ सहयोग करना चाहते हैं, सहयोग देना चाहते हैं, समर्थन करना चाहते हैं उस के लिए, जन-सहयोग लेने के लिए जो कमेटियां बनने वाली थीं वह सारे देश में अभी बन कर तैयार नहीं हुई । मैं आपसे अनुरोध करना चाहता हूं कि सरकारी तौर पर या पार्टी की तरफ से यह आदेश जाने की आवश्यकता है सारे प्रदेशों में प्रदेश स्तर पर, जिला स्तर पर, तहसील स्तर पर, शहर स्तर पर और ब्लाक और ग्राम स्तर पर जन-सहयोग के लिए कमेटियां बनना आवश्यक है जिससे कि आपका यह 21 सूत्रीय कार्यक्रम सिर्फ सरकारी ढांचे में उलझ कर न रह जाय और इसका सही उपयोग, जो आपकी इच्छा है, जो नेता की इच्छा है उसके अनुरूप हो सके, उस रूप में इसे कार्यान्वित किया जा सके, इसकी तरफ ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है । इन कमेटियों में यह भी ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है कि इन में भूमिहीन गरीब लोग ज्यादा प्रतिशत में रहें, उन के कार्यकर्ता, उन के प्रतिनिधि ज्यादा रहें जिससे कि उनका उचित लाभ हो सके ।

इसी के साथ साथ हमारे 21 सूत्रीय कार्यक्रम में कृषि उत्पादन के लिए सिंचाई बढ़ाने की जो व्यवस्था है उस तरफ भी भारत सरकार को विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है क्योंकि सिंचाई ही एक ऐसी वस्तु है जो कि कृषि उत्पादन में सब से अधिक मदद कर सकती है और इसके लिए मैं ऐसा समझता हूं कि आज इस आपातकालीन स्थिति में या इस हालत में जितने भी नदियों के विवाद हैं जो उलझे पड़े हैं, सारे देश में जिसके कारण सिंचाई की व्यवस्था करने में बाधा उपस्थित हो रही है वे तुरन्त हल कर दिए जाने चाहिए । उनके लिए एक तारीख निश्चित हो कि इस तारीख तक सारी नदियों के जल-विवाद हल कर दिए जाएंगे और जो जल विवाद हल हो चुके हैं जिनके कि प्रोग्राम बन चुके हैं, जिनकी योजनाओं पर दस्तखत हो चुके हैं उन्हें प्रारम्भ कर देना चाहिए । उदाहरण के तौर पर मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि उत्तर प्रदेश और मध्य प्रदेश के बीच में दसों वर्षों के बाद एक जो विवाद हल हुआ बेतवा नदी का, जिसके लिए प्रावधान भी प्रदेश की सरकार ने अपने बजट में किया और जिसके काम का शिलान्यास प्रधान मंत्री जी ने अपने हाथों से किया, एक छोटी सी दिक्कत आ जाने के कारण उसमें शिथिलता आ चुकी है । आज जब कि 25 लाख हेक्टर में सिंचाई बढ़ाने की आवश्यकता है और उसकी ओर हमारा लक्ष्य है तो, इन चीजों की तरफ सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिए

और इस योजना का कंट्रोल बोर्ड बना कर रजघाट को शीघ्र बनाया जाना चाहिए जिससे इसका कार्य पांचवीं पंच वर्षीय योजना की निश्चित अवधि में पूरा हो सके ।

इस पर भी ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है कि प्रदेशीय सरकारो द्वारा जो भी सिंचाई की योजनाएं यहां भेजी जाती है स्वीकृति के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार की फाइलों में या दफ्तरो मे वह अटकी पडी रहती हैं । इनमे गति लाने की आवश्यकता है और जो भी सिचाई की योजनाएं प्रदेश सरकारें यहा भेजे उनके लिए एक निश्चित अवधि हो जिस के अन्दर उनको स्वीकार करके प्रदेशों को वापस भेजा जा सके । उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार द्वारा शहजाद बाध की योजना भेजी जा चुकी है । वहा उसके लिए रुपया भी प्रदेश सरकार ने अपने बजट मे रख लिया है लेकिन कार्य इसलिए प्रारम्भ नही हो रहा है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार की ओर से उस की स्वीकृति अभी तक नही पहुंच पाई है । इसी तरह उर्मिल बांध की योजना प्रदेश सरकार ने बना कर भेजी है, रोहिणी बांध की योजना भी प्रदेश सरकार ने भेजी है लेकिन केन्द्रीय सरकार के दफ्तरों में वह अटकी हुई हैं, उनकी स्वीकृति अभी तक नही पहुंची है । मेरा भारत सरकार और सम्बन्धित विभागों से निवेदन है कि ऐसी योजनाओं पर जिनको प्रान्तीय सरकार बना कर भेजती है तुरत अमल करने की आवश्यकता है । उनकी स्वीकृति केन्द्रीय सरकार तुरन्त भेजे जिससे कि कृषि उत्पादन और सिचाई के कामो मे आगे तरक्की हो सके ।

इसी के साथ साथ मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि कृषि उत्पादन को बढ़ाने के लिए बड़ी और मीडियम योजनाओ के साथ साथ लघु सिंचाई योजनाओं की तरफ विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है । लघु सिचाई योजना के कुछ ऐसे कार्यक्रम है जिन को अभी प्रारम्भ करके इसी रबी में उसका लाभ उठा सकते है । नर्मदा नदी के उत्तर और यमुना के दक्षिण मे जो बुन्देलखण्ड का भूभाग है उस भू भाग में हजारो इस तरह के नाले और नदियां है जिनमें बारह महीने पानी रहता है । वहां जो नदिया और नाले है उनके कगार बहुत ऊचे हैं और पानी गहराई में बहता है। आप अगर उसका सर्वे करा कर यह व्यवस्था करा दे कि हर दो चार किलो मीटर पर जहा उपयुक्त स्थान हो वहां बाध बधवा दे और उनमे एक दो किलोमीटर की लम्बाई तक पानी इकट्ठा करके पम्प के द्वारा या बिजली से उसे उठा कर उसके द्वारा सिचाई की व्यवस्था कर दे तो उससे तुरत लाभ हो सकता है । यह कार्यक्रम आप अभी शुरू करे, इस समय बरसात का पानी बह रहा है, अभी से कार्य आरम्भ कर दे तो इसी रबी में उससे सिचाई की व्यवस्था कर सकते है और इसी रबी में उसके द्वारा अपना उत्पादन बढ़ा सकते हैं । इस तरह की जो योजना यें है जो हमें इसी फसल में लाभ दे सकती हैं उनके ऊपर विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है और उनका विशेष तौर पर सर्वे करा कर उन्हें कार्यान्वित करने की आवश्यकता है ।

हमारे देश में ऐसे भी हिस्से हैं जहां कुएं का रिवाज है । लोग कुए बनाते है सिचाई के लिए । लेकिन उनमें अधिक पानी न होने के कारण या नीचे पत्थर निकल आने के कारण गरीब किसान मजबूर हो जाता है । उसके लिए हर ब्लाक में आप को बोरिंग मशीन या ऐसी पत्थर तोड़ने वाली मशीन रखनी चाहिए जिसको किसान किराये पर ले सके और अपने कुएं में बोरिंग करा कर उससे अपनी सिंचाई की व्यवस्था कर सके । लघु सिचाई के अन्तर्गत इस ओर आप को ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है ।

इसी के साथ साथ जो आपके और कार्यक्रम है 21 सूत्रीय कार्यक्रम के अन्तर्गत उनमें कौनसे काम कितनी जल्दी हो सकते है, यह देख कर उसी के अनुसार समय-बद्ध कार्यक्रम आपको बनाना चाहिए । कौनसा काम किस क्षेत्र में करने की आवश्यकता है

[डा० गोविंद दास रिछारिया]

उसका कार्यक्रम आपको बनाना चाहिए। उसमें सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता है जन-सहयोग लेने की, क्योंकि आपका सामाजिक क्रान्ति और गरीबी मिटाने का जो कार्यक्रम है उसमें जितना अधिक जनसहयोग मिलेगा उतना ही अधिक उससे लाभ होगा, उतना ही लोगों में उत्साह पैदा होगा और आपके ये जो क्रान्तिकारी प्रोग्राम है वे भी उतने ही अच्छे ढग से चल सकेंगे।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं फिर इस कार्यक्रम का समर्थन करता हूं।

16 hrs.

SHRI SHYAM SUNDER MOHAPATRA (Balasore): The 21—point programme announced by the Prime Minister on 1st July, 1975 gave a momentum to the economic policies which we have been following since 1971. There is nothing new in the broadcast. We all know that we took the major decisions in the Bombay Session of the Indian National Congress and also at the Narola Session in our party conference. But what was needed in the country today was to create the necessary initiative in the people, the necessary enthusiasm in the people and to call upon the people to participate in the economic programme. That is why the emergency was imposed on the country to curb the strides of vested interests. In the economic programme broadcast to the nation the Prime Minister rightly laid stress on the price rise. She said and I quote:

> 'Government will take a series of steps to stimulate production, speed up procurement and streamline the distribution of essential commodities.'

Unless we have a hold on the means of production and distribution, it is not possible to deliver the goods and to give benefits to the people—whether rural people or urban people whether poor people, middle-class or rich people. Such control over means of production and distribution is very necessary. That is the sum total of the socialist process followed by any socialist country either outside India or by us inside India.

There is a substantial fall in the prices of essential commodities but what is worrying me is this. This price rise varies from consumer shop to consumer shop. It varies from one wholesale depot to another wholesale depot. Cannot Government have a scheme which will be able to decide a uniform sort of price which will be accepted by all the consumer shops? This is my submission. Once it is decided at State level, it should be accepted by all the consumers shops in the districts of the States. But if we leave it to the merchants chamber, to the decision of traders and merchants, to the decision of a supply officer here or a supply officer there, what will happen is that the prices will vary from place to place. The people will think that the price has not substantially fallen. It is a fact that price has fallen but we will have to keep up the tempo and see that it does not fall in a particular period of time but that the reduction in price is there for a longer period of time.

Bonded labour has been exercising our attention for the last many decades. Prime Minister has rightly said that the practice of bonded labour is barbarous and will be abolished. We know very well that this system of bonded labour was there in China, it was there in France, it was there in Russia. And wherever there was bonded labour, which means slavery, it brought about popular revolutions. We find today that Gorakhpur labour is being exploited by the contractors and other agencies in mines and steel plants and other industries. By this decision we will give a death-blow to the bonden

labour system Mrs. Promilla Kalhan, writing in Hindustan Times a few days ago said that there is a link in this respect. I quote:

"There is a link between bonded labour and trafficking in women. The 1961 census report indicated that a sizeable population of women landless labourers were drawn from Scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes families. There were over 9 lakhs in Andhra Pradesh, six lakhs in Tamilnadu and 7 lakhs in U.P."

These women labourers were utilised for immoral purposes by contractors and vested interests taking advantage of their economic position. When we abolish this bonded labour system, we will effect a death-blow to this practice.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, 87 per cent of our rural women are in bonded labour in agricultural fields. What we see now is that there is a decline in the ratio of women labour in the agricultural field. From 183.6 lakhs in 1951 it has come down to 92.6 lakhs in 1971. Shrimati Kalhan says the following as a factor for the decline in this ratio. I quote:

"This women population has been taken from the village areas to the urban areas by the contractors".

So, there should be a definite check on this.

Our Prime Minister, while focussing attention on the rural indebtedness said that these farmers who will have only two hectares of land, there would be a meratorium on suits and execution of decrees and all that. We know that our rural people are very much indebted and the official report of All-India Debt and Investment Survey had said:

"Nearly 43 per cent of the house hold were in debt. The average assets per household amounted to 11,343 and the liability Rs. 503".

This is the position. I quota: total of 749.39 lakhs rural households in India held assets, excluding inventories, worth Rs. 68,409 crores and their liabilities amounted to Rs. 3,921 crores (4.4 per cent of the aggregate asset) at the end of June 1971. So, judging from this, we must admit that the twentypoint programme which aims at abolishing the rural indebtedness will definitely help the rural people.

We have a definite wage for the industrial labour, We know that to-day, in the steel plant, according to the wage negotiations—I know that as a trade unionist—the workers will have about Rs. 450/- as their pay per month. But, what about the agricultural labour—a poor peasant? He does not get even Rs. 2 a day. It is very difficult for a poor peasant to earn even Rs 3 a day when actually rice is selling at Rs. 3.50 or 4/- during the lean season. Of course, now, the price of rice has come down to about Rs. 2/- somewhere its price is Rs, 2.50. But, in lean months, it is more than Rs. 3/-. If a minimum wage is not fixed at Rs. 5/- the agricultural labour will not get the benefit and they will almost be liquidated. So, this twenty-point programme aims at giving realief to the students. The Prime Minister said that the students from poor families have been subjected to difficulties to pursue their higher study away from their home. In order to help them, she said essential commodities will be supplied at a controlled price. We know that to-day in 1974-75, there are hundred million students in schools and collages. This is as per the recent statistics. In 1972-73 there were 86.3 million students but in 1973-74 there were 89.0 million students. To-day it stands at 100 million. This twenty point programme aims at giving relief to the poor students. This will certainly give a benefit to a large section of the students. To-day they are discontented because they feel that the rich students are having all the benefits in schools and colleges and so they are debared from the benefits.

[Shri Shyam Sunder Mohapatra]

We also know that there is a definite drop-out of students in elementary standard. There is a recent survey in Orissa. What does it say? It says:

"In 1961, there were 60,7 million students in the elementary schools and half of them went away after six months, particularly in the tribal districts of Koraput, Phulbani and other areas."

The Survey Report says:

"In Orissa, primary education has not caught up with the imagination of the people."

The tribal people will not allow their children to go to the school for the simple reason that they want their children to work with them in the field. Why should they allow the children to go to the school where they will have to provide them with clothes, money, food and everything. But, when they work in the field with them, they will supplement the income of the parents.

Sir, in this background, I personally feel that the twenty point programme will give moral booster to the industrial labour, to the peasantry and to the students. The women who were with our national movement should also participate in this economic programme so that our country will come at par with other developed countries of the world.

SHRIMATI ROZA DESHPANDE (Bombay Central): Sir, I would have very much liked to speak in my mother tongue but I am told that there are no Marathi interpretors. So, I am forced to speak in English.

I welcome this 20-point programme, Many suggestions have been made and I do not want also to take much of the time of the House because at five O'clock, the Finance Minister has to speak. I would like to give a few suggestions because this economic programme and the emergency measure have been welcomed by the people. Now, the fright in the mind of the common man is, supposing this emergency is lifted what will happen. They want these emergency conditions should last and for that, I think, this 20-point programmes will be quite helpful and a guiding factor. The basic things which people expect from this 20-point programme are shelter, food, cloth, housing and employment. This is the minimum which the people of this country expect. This being International Women's Year, I would like to start with women. There is lot of unemployment amongst women. We want to give women equal status and everybody now and then inside this House and outside always says that women must be given equal status in every sphere. It is also emphasised that unless they become economically independent they cannot assert themselves. So, I would request the Treasury Benches at least to see that in their own industries wherver women are employed at least 20 per cent of the employees are women.

On the contrary, what we find is in the taxtile industry whereas earlier many women had been employed, today there are no women left in this industry. It is especially so in Bombay. Why should not a convention be laid down for certain industries that they will have to employ a certain percentage of women employees? If it is not done, then there is no use of giving all these sermons of equal status. I will further suggest that some technical centres—which are at present only on record—should be immediately started by the State Governments and the Centre should see to it that these technical institutions and centres for women start working. Sir, there is another thing which I would like to mention. This is about health and family planning. The other day, Dr. Karan Singh said something about this,

Sir, the Minister for Petroleum and Chemicals, Mr. Malaviya is here. I would like to point out to him that

reaching of drugs to the interior villages in this country is a very big problem. People in this country, who live in remotest villages have to buy medicines from baniyas. Nobody knows whether they are spurious or not, how they are and what they eat. They just go and buy medicines from baniyas. Are we looking into this as to how costly they are? This should form part of the new economic programme. People must get drugs and their health must be improved. At least, they must not die so soon. Under these circumstances, what are we doing? Sir, the Health Minister mentioned about it. Now the Hathi Committee Report has already been laid on the Table of the House. What are we thinking about it? The Ministers have said and the Prime Minister has also said that they are not thinking of nationalisation immediately. Don't go into it. But, at least, will you see that drugs are provided to the people? Is your public sector capable of providing medicines to the whole country? You are not. I may point out that this is the only industry which is in the hands of foreign monopoly capital and the public sector is not able to compete with this industry. What are you going to do? You are afraid of nationalisation; you have doubts whether you can do it, whether you can implement it and because of that, you are not taking over this industry. But, at least take over some of the companies, at least seven of them, companies like Glaxo, Pfizer, Roche, Cynamide, Sandoz and Boots. By this, you will be able to provide medicines to the people in the villages. Otherwise, you will not be able to fulfil your commitments to the people in this country in this respect at least. I can assure you that the workers in this industry are quite educated and capable of managing this industry. These companies are profit making companies. They have not become bankrupt like the textile industry. Like the textile mill owners they have not gone into bankruptcy. I would make this suggestion that you should at least take over seven or eight of these companies. You may not nationalise the whole industry. But, at least six or seven of these companies could be taken over.

Sir, while this emergency exists, you have to look to the problems of the workers also. I have to again repeat—I have also mentioned it in another speech—that the industrialists and the monopolists in this country are taking advantage of this emergency to suppress the workers and Government should not also contribute to this. For instance, bank workers in this country are expected to get their bonus. Why have they not been paid as yet? Why there is no solution to this ? They are expecting that they will be paid the bonus. If you want co-operation from the workers, you must at least give them what is due to them. We are not asking something extra, something more. People do not want that. But, at least, you must give them what is due to them. I would also like to suggest that if the industrialists are going to victimise the workers, please see that we are able to fight out the industrialists. Otherwise, the problem will arise sometimes and workers will be forced to go into action.

Here, I would also like to suggest that while you are checking up these flats in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, make a list of these industrialists and check up their flats. Do not go at random but go systematically by the list and check up the houses of these industrialists first. Why can't you do it? Then, you should also check up the houses of the Secretaries in your own Ministries. We know very well who are the corrupt Secretaries in your Ministries. Why don't you start from there? Start from that point also. Go and see who is guilty and who is not. Otherwise, don't go on blaming the bureaucracy. At the same time, I want to say one thing. We are blaming the bureaucracy. But see who corrupts the bureaucracy. Who has the money to corrupt the bureacracy? You go on blaming the bureaucracy. This

(Shrimati Rozha Deshpande)

Secretary is corrupt, that Secretary is corrupt. But who corrupts him? Are you catching hold of the people who are corrupting this bureaucracy? I want you to start from that point. Catch hold of these big monopolists in this country who have enough money to corrupt your bureaucracy. Then alone I think we will be able to put our train on the right track. I do not wish to take much more of your time.

THE MINISTER OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS (SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA): We have been very dispassionately and peacefully considering the proposal that is before us initiated by the Prime Minister in order to produce a new programme for economic progress. This, in my opinion, is possible because new circumstances have been created after the emergency thereby enabling this Parliament to take the matter much more seriously than what has been previously done. This should be enough proof for my young friend, Shri Dhote, to come to the conclusion that all that was done or has been done is not to let the power remain with the party for the sake of power but in order to create a new situation to proceed ahead on the long cherished promises that we have made to our people. Howsoever tempting it may be to enter into this matter rather objectively as to why, how and to what extent we can go further on this march towards the socialist goal, I would refrain from doing it because we have just now to think in a subjective manner as to how these programmes which have been initiated by the Prime Minister can be implemented.

It is axiomatically understandable that we have to modify the present method of our functioning both outside the Government and inside the Government. Those who have to implement the task must bring about a new pattern of relationship between the people and the party, between the party and the Government and within the Government also. In my opinion, these changes are now inevitable. Therefore, the modifications that are obvious to us should be obvious to the hon. Members opposite.

Those who have had the honour to function in this House have a terrible responsibility on their shoulders. We always felt that a time would come when there would prevail an atmosphere when we and the Opposition would together find out in what manner our political democracy has to function. Unfortunately, day in and day out, month in and month out, year in and year out, the situation was not normal and there was a determined effort to sabotage all such intentions of the Government which would have led to greater understanding with a view to implement the programme which is the cherished goal not only of the Government and the Party which created this Government but also many of the groups sitting opposite here. I cannot say what new picture of authority will be injected in our political democracy. It is a question which has to receive serious attention on the part of the Government as well as the House. It is the responsibility of the House along with the Government to move ahead and remove disparities and bring about such egalitarianism as will not only bring happiness to the people but will also lead to the realisation of the goals which in the long run will make India free of poverty and disparities.

There are many suggestions which are before us. My colleague, the Finance Minister, is going to deal with them exhaustively. What concerns me is the question of programme which will give us enough fuel for the country's industrialisation and other activities. The hon. Member Mrs. Deshpande, raised the question of drugs both in the public and private sector. Since the Hathi Committee Report

came before the House, we have made much progress in the production of medicines both in the public and private sector. It is far more satisfactory than what had been done in some other fronts. It is not easy to agree readily to the proposal that all international monopoly concerns should be nationalised immediately. There can be difficulties in this process. But the profiteering has been restrained and more and more medicines are being produced and going into the villages. It is not only the bania who is selling the medicines. The hospitals are receiving the medicines manufactured in the public sector, in Hyderabad and in the IDPL. I hope that in the coming few months larger and larger number of medicines would be produced in the public sector and at cheaper prices also. Prices of many important medicines have already gone down. I want to assure the House that the Government is actively pursuing the programme of production of medicines both in the public sector and the private sector. It is our duty to see that profits are controlled.

Another important issue is the price of petroleum products. There was some concern shown by the House that there has been an increase in the price of kerosene and diesel oil—and gas too. Mr. Chairman, let me recall that the prices of different petroleum products were only marginally increased since 1974, very marginally, although the price of crude oil was increased almost three times and since then the under recoveries of the Indian Oil Corporation have almost mounted to a colossal sum of Rs. 140.0 crores. The price of crude oil shot up to about ten dollars per barrel whereas the price of petroleum products remained more or less at the same level when crude oil was selling at about 2 dollars per barrel. Petroleum products price only marginally increased in September, 1974. Therefore, you will find that the increase is five paise per litre for kerosene and ten paise per litre for diesel oil. The Oil Price Committee recommended a far higher increase in price but we did not accept their recommendations because we knew that the increase would affect the pocket of the people. This is likely to make up the large under recoveries which have so far been faced by the Indian Oil Corporation. If they had not done so, I would have gone to the Finance Minister to ask for his help to the extent of Rs. 140.0 crores, for which he would either have to print notes or cut down the expenditure somewhere else. This would have resulted in an inflationary tendency. Therefore, it was much better to collect money from the people by this small increase rather than to ask the Finance Minister for his help.

श्री राम सहाय पांडे (राजनन्दगांव) कितने का फ़र्क पड़ता है ?

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: It will perhaps be about Rs. 100.0 crores and this amount will be recovered by way of marginal increase in these products. The price of furnace oil has also been increased very marginally to about ten paise because we did not want to encourage consumption of furnace oil.

I now come to the activities of oil exploration. Our aim ultimately is a complete stoppage of import of crude oil. With a view to do it we are now intensively carrying on oil exploration both off-shore and on-shore in the country. As the House knows, the activities of off-shore explorations are increasing and there are very good prospects of getting oil, as the years pass by. Next year, we hope that production from the off-shore will be something between one million and two million tonnes of oil by the middle of the next year or by the third-quarter of the next year, our production of crude oil from the on-shore areas is also likely to increase by about one to two million tonnes. So, just now when we are importing about 2/3 of our consumption, we hope that by the end of the next year, this proportion will be substantially reduced. It is quite possible that we may then produce about 40 per cent of our crude

(Shri K. D. Malaviya.)

oil by the end of this year and import about 60 or 55 per cent. If discovery of oil and production programme goes on like this within three years time we hope the situation will very much improve. By the end of 1980 or nearby we hope we shall be able to produce as much oil as we would require. Such a situation in the exploration is due to the fact that the ONGC has of late made rapid advances towards new technology, both on-shore and off-shore. I am glad to inform the House that we are now knowing much more the intricacies of oil exploration than what we knew about a few years ago. We do not hesitate to exchange knowledge with those who have it, although there are sometimes difficulties in bargaining with such parties who know more about it than us.

श्री राम सहाय पांडे : सागर सम्राट जैसी कोई और चीज आप बना रहे हैं ?

SHRI K. D. MALAVIYA: Such things can be easily purchased from the market, why should we spend our time and energy on that? But there are other engineering aspects where we are developing of our own and also with the help of others.

I would like to say a few words about the Assam oil situation. Oil exploration in Assam is increasing and I want to assure hon. Members that both Bongaigaon refinery and Noonmati refinery are being expanded. At present we are actively engaged in planning for the expansion of Noonmati and Bongaigaon refineries. The petro-chemical industry in Bongaigaon refinery is also being planned and we hope in the next two or three years' time, the expansion programme of both the refineries and the handling of the Bongaigaon petro-chemical complex will have gone ahead to the satisfaction of hon. Members

With regard to increasing the number of refineries, is is very difficult just now to commit the Government to anything like that. There are three refineries in Assam—Digboi, Noonmati and Bongaigaon which is coming up. With these, we hope to process as much crude oil as will be possible for us to do. We are already committed to transport 2 million tons of crude oil to Barauni in Bihar. In between Barauni, Bongaigaon, Noonmati and Digboi we propose to refine as much oil as we can produce from Assam oil-fields.

Fertiliser prices have already been reduced by Rs. 50 to 200 depending on different types of fertilisers. There is a large programme of having plants under public sector fertiliser industry. With the discovery of oil and gas in Bombay High and elsewhere, the position of fertiliser production in public sector has eased. So far, we have been depending on fuel oil, coal and also some quantities of naphtha for producing fertiliser. We did not want to import furnace oil and naphtha for our fertiliser plants. As more oil and gas are expected to be produced from Bombay High, we hope, it will be easier and cheaper for us to produce fertiliser. We hope to get as much gas and oil from these prospective areas as is possible so that by the end of Fifth Plan or middle of the Sixth Plan we may be able to have 3.8 million tonnes of fertiliser for our people.

There is one more point which was raised by Smt. Roza Deshpande. I want to inform the House that the public sector units are increasing the quantity and quality of our medicines. These are badly required. The House may be aware that very recently there was acute scarcity of blood pressure medicines. These tablets were neither available in our country nor were we getting it from the Western countries. We managed to get the bulk product and now she will be glad to know that the public sector is producing blood pressure tablets. In this manner, we are increasing our sphere of activity. She knows how soon we acted not only on the information supplied by her

but also that obtained by our own people. I presume, she is satisfied that things are going ahead smoothly.

Mr. Chairman, I have nothing more to say. I only hope that this new programme which is initiated by the Prime Minister will receive very serious consideration not only from our party but from Opposition parties also. So far as our party is concerned, we are very seriously engaged in modifying our own organisation, bringing about improvements in our own organisation, creating a new pattern of co-operation between the Government and the Party and the people so that we may be able to move faster in order to satisfy the aspirations of the people.

श्री दामोदर पांडे (हजारी बाग) : कोल बेस्ड फर्टिलाइजर कारखानों के बारे में भी कुछ कहें ।

श्री के० डी० मालवीय : उनमें खर्चा ज्यादा आता है कैपिटल और रैकरिंग एक्सपेंडीचर दोनों । लेकिन उसकी भी हम कोशिश कर रहे हैं कि जहां कहीं कर सकते हों करें ।

श्री जगदीश नारायण मंडल (गोड्डा) : सभापति महोदय, वित्त मन्त्री महोदय द्वारा सभा में बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम जो रखा गया है उसका मैं स्वागत करता हूं । देश के कोने कोने से इस कार्यक्रम का स्वागत हो रहा है । इस आर्थिक कार्यक्रम से देश के उन गरीबों को जो आज तक पिछड़े रहे है, फायदा होगा । जब से आपात स्थिति की घोषणा हुई है यह देखने में आया है कि आवश्यक उपभोक्ता वस्तुओं के दामों में गिरावट आई है तथा उत्पादन व उत्पादन कारखानों में जो उत्पादन की गति थी। वह तेज हुई है। उपभोक्ता पदार्थों की वसूली में भी तेजी आई है। तस्करों का जो व्यापार किया करते थे उनकी गतिविधियों में कमी आई है । मध्यम वर्गों के लिए आपने जो आयकर की सीमा है उसको छः हजार से आठ हजार किया है, इसका भी लोगों ने स्वागत किया है । कृषि भूमि हदबन्दी को तेजी से लागू करने के लिए जो कार्यक्रम रखा गया है जिसमें भूमिहीनों के बीच में जमीन बांटना है, इसके सम्बन्ध में मैं आपकी सेवा में कुछ सुझाव रखना चाहता हूं ।

हम देख रहे है कि आज देश में लाखों एकड़ जमीन हरिजनों और भूमिहीनों में आप बांटने जा रहे हैं । बिहार सरकार ने भी पांच जुलाई को घोषित किया था सदाकत आश्रम में कि पचास हजार एकड़ भूमि हम भूमिहीनों के बीच बांटने जा रहे हैं । इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा एक सुझाव है । इस पचास हजार एकड़ भूमि को आप दस बारह हजार परिवारों के बीच में बांटेंगे । लेकिन हर परिवार के वास्ते आप साधनों की व्यवस्था पहले से ही कर दें तभी इसका वास्तविक लाभ उन भूमिहीनों को मिल सकेगा । हर परिवार को अगर आप दो-दो हजार रुपये दे दें तथा वे खेती के साधन खरीद सकें तो आपका रुपया तो जरूर खर्च होगा लेकिन तभी भूमिहीनों को आप वास्तव में लाभ पहुंचा सकेंगे । अगर आपने ऐसा नहीं किया तो आशंका है कि जो जमीन आज आप भूमिहीनों के बीच में बांट रहे हैं वही जमीन फिर बड़े जमींदारों के हाथ में चली जाएगी क्योंकि उनके पास साधन न रहने की वजह से और कोई चारा नहीं रह जाएगा । मुझे भूदान का काम कुछ अर्से तक करने का मौका मिला है । उसमें मैंने देखा है कि हजारों एकड़ जमीन हमने अपने जिलों में गरीबों तथा भूमिहीनों के बीच में बंटवाई लेकिन चूंकि सरकार की ओर से उनको साधन सुलभ करने की कोई उचित व्यवस्था नहीं की गई इस वास्ते अस्सी प्रतिशत लोगों के हाथ से वह जमीन निकल कर बड़े आदमियों के हाथ में चली गई है । इस वास्ते मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर आर्थिक व्यवस्था इस तरह की उनके लिए आप नहीं करेंगे तो भूमिहीनों को जो जमीन दी जाएगी वह जमीन उनके हाथों

[श्री जगदीश नारायण मंडल]

में नहीं रह सकेगी, वह निकल कर बड़े किसानों के हाथ में चली जाएगी।

बिहार के कुछ जिलों में, संथाल परगना, छोटा नागपुर आदि में आज भी प्रधानी प्रथा चालू है। यह प्रथा अंग्रेजों के जमाने से चली आ रही है। अंग्रेजों ने उन लोगों को जमींदारों की तरह से रेंट वसूल करने के लिए नियुक्त कर दिया था और उनके अधीन सैकड़ों एकड़ जमीन कर दी थी। इस जमीन को वे अपने पास रखे हुए हैं। इन लोगों के सैकड़ों बीघा जमीन प्रधानी प्रथा के नाम से ले रखी है और उसके ये मालिक बने हुए हैं। मेरे जिले में कोई बारह हजार गांव है। हर गांव में प्रधानों के पास सैकड़ों बीघा जमीन है। आपने जिस तरह से जमींदारियां खत्म की हैं उसी तरह से इस प्रधानी प्रथा को भी खत्म करें और इन लोगों को जोत के नाम पर जो जमीन दी गई है, उसको आप भूमिहीनों में बांटने की व्यवस्था करें।

मैंने देखा है कि प्रखण्डों में कितनी ही जमीन बांटी जा रही है। पुड़िया हाट जो मेरे अंचल में है वहां के वी० डी० ओ० से मैंने पूछा कि कितनी जमीन बांटी जा रही है। उसने बताया कि 345 एकड़ बांटी जा रही है मैंने लिस्ट देखी तो मुझे मालूम पड़ा उसमें भूमिहीन ज्यादा नहीं थे। वही लोग ज्यादा थे जिनके पास पहले से ही जमीन है। अगर सरकार की ओर से इसकी पक्की व्यवस्था नहीं की जाएगी कि केवल भूमिहीनों को जमीन मिले तो मुझे आशंका है कि फिर यह भूमि उन्हीं कृषकों के हाथ में चली जाएगी जिनके पास पहले से जमीन है। इस वास्ते इसकी आपको पक्की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये कि उन्हीं को भूमि मिले जिनके पास पहले से कोई भूमि नहीं है।

हमारे यहां पहाड़िया लोग भी रहते है। वे पहाड़ों पर रहते हैं। पहाड़ों पर उनकी जमीनें है जहां पर पत्थर आदि हैं। वहां वे खेती नहीं कर सकते हैं। मेरी प्रार्थना है कि उनको नीचे पहाड़ों के जमीन दी जाए जहां पर हजारों एकड़ जमीन पड़ी हुई है। ये लोग फल पत्ते आदि खाकर जिन्दा रहते हैं।

खेतहर मजदूरों के सम्बन्ध में आप अच्छी योजनायें बना रहे हैं। हमारे यहां बिहार में एक दो स्कीमें इसके लिए बनी हैं। हमारे यहां इसको कानून का रूप भी दे दिया गया है। हमारे यहां के अफसर डींगें बहुत मारते हैं कि खेतिहार मजदूरो के लिए कुछ होने वाला है। लेकिन जिस तरह से काम हो रहा है मैं नहीं समझता हूं कुछ होगा। दो महीने पहले हर प्रखण्ड में काफी रुपया दिया गया था भूमिहीनों के मकान बनाने के लिए, खेतिहार मजदूरों के वास्ते मकानों के लिए। वह रुपया पंचायतों को दे दिया गया। दो महीने इस रुपये को गए हो चुके हैं लेकिन आज तक कुछ नहीं हुआ है। पंचायतों को अगर खेतिहार मजदूरों के मकान बनाने के लिए रुपया दे दिया जाएगा और उसका इस्तेमाल नहीं होगा और इस तरह से ढिलाई बरती जाएगी तो कैसे काम चलेगा। इसलिए मेरा सरकार से अनुरोध है कि जो पैसा मकान आदि बनाने के लिए भूमिहीनों के नाम पर दिया जाता है उसका उपयोग हो और जल्दी से जल्दी उनके लिए मकान बनें और इस काम में मैं समझता हूं तभी तेजी आएगी जब हम इस काम के पीछे लग कर इसको करवाएंगे।

इस आर्थिक कार्यक्रम के अनुसार सरकार 50 लाख एकड़ अतिरिक्त जमीन पर सिंचाई का प्रबन्ध करने जा रही है। मैं समझता हूं कि सिंचाई का प्रबन्ध करना बहुत जरूरी है। आज सारे देश में सिंचाई का प्रबन्ध 40 प्रतिशत भी नहीं है। बिहार में केवल 15, 16 प्रतिशत क्षेत्र में सिंचाई होती है और छोटा नागपुर और संथाल परगना में तो 2 प्रतिशत भी इरिगेशन नहीं है।

संथाल परगना ज़िले में 32, 33 लाख लोग रहते हैं, जिन में से 80 से 90 प्रतिशत लोग हरिजन और आदिवासी हैं, लेकिन वहां सिंचाई केवल 2 प्रतिशत है। हाल ही में जब लेवी का प्रश्न आया, तो हम ने बिहार के 31 जिलों में संथाल परगना को सब से आगे बढ़ाया, जहां से 85,000 टन लेवी का क्वोटा पूरा किया गया, मगर फिर भी वहां इरिगेशन केवल 2 प्रतिशत है।

जब तक सरकार की ओर से दिल्ली एरिया और आदिवासी एरिया में सिंचाई का प्रबन्ध नहीं किया जायेगा, तब तक उस क्षेत्र का विकास नहीं हो पायेगा और न ही वहां अन्न के उत्पादन में वृद्धि हो पायेगी। हम उम्मीद करते हैं कि सरकार चुस्ती के साथ पिछड़े हुए राज्यों और पिछड़े हुए जिलों में सिंचाई का प्रबन्ध करेगी, ताकि उस की मंशा पूरी हो सके।

श्री राजदेव सिंह (जौनपुर) : सभापति महोदय, एक महीना और कुछ दिन हुए जब प्रधान मन्त्री ने इमर्जेंसी का ऐलान किया। उस के बाद दूसरा ऐलान से कुछ ऐसी संस्थाओं को बैन किया गया, जो डैमोक्रेसी की जड़ खोदने की कोशिश कर रही थीं। और तीसरे ऐलान में यह 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम देश के सामने रखा गया।

जब से देश में इमर्जेंसी लागू हुई है, चारों तरफ जोश और मुस्तैदी दिखाई देती है और लोग राहत की सांस ले रहे हैं, यहां तक कि छोटे और बड़े शहरों में जुर्म भी बहुत कम हो गये हैं। इन सब बातों को देखते हुए यह कहना पड़ेगा कि अगर इमर्जेंसी की वजह से ट्रेन में बिना टिकट यात्रा करना बन्द हो, अगर शहरों में जुर्म कम हो जायें और आम नागरिकों की जिन्दगी सुधार हो, तो फिर इमर्जेन्सी एक बड़ी अच्छी चीज है और इस को जारी रखना चाहिये।

हमारे देश में करीब 26 पार्टियां हैं। चन्द बरस पहले विनोबा भावे ने कहा था कि जब भविष्य में देश का इतिहास लिखा जायेगा, तो इतिहासकार लिखेंगे कि हमारे देश में जो पार्टियां हैं, वे समाज के लिए बीमारियां हैं। इस इमर्जेन्सी ने दिखा दिया है कि कुछ पार्टियों के बड़े बड़े नेताओं को जेल में बन्द करने की वजह से आज देश में अमन-चैन है, जुर्म कम हैं, बिना टिकट यात्रा कम है और दफ्तरों में भी मुस्तैदी के साथ काम हो रहा है।

हमारे देश में बहुत बड़ी संख्या गरीबों की है, जो गांवों में रहते हैं, और कुछ शहरों में भी रहते हैं। हमारे देश में 5,65,000 गांव हैं। कुछ थोड़े से लोगों को छोड़ कर वे करीब-करीब सभी गरीबों से बसे हुए हैं। इस 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम में एग्रीकल्चरल लेबर की तनख्वाह बढ़ाने की बात कही गई है और इमारत बनाने वाले उन मजदूरों की स्थिति सुधारने का भी जिक्र है, जो दूसरों के लिए दो दस-दस मंजिला मकान बनाते हैं और खुद सड़कों की पटरियों पर सो कर रात बिताते हैं। हमारे देश की 40 प्रतिशत आबादी स्टार्वेशन लाइन पर है। उस को भी इस 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम से काफी फायदा होगा। हमारे देश के करीब 24, 25 करोड़ लोग इस 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम में एक आशा की किरण देख रहे हैं।

इस कार्यक्रम को इम्प्लीमेंट करना सरकारी मशीनरी के हाथ में है। सरकार ने इस बारे में जो सख्ती बरती है और यह नियम बनाया है कि अगर कोई अफसर, वह छोटा हो या बडा, ढिलाई करता है, तो 50 साल की उम्र पर उस को रिटायर कर दिया जायेगा और नये लोगों को अवसर दिया जायेगा, मैं समझता हूं कि इस का असर अच्छा हुआ है। हम बहुत दिनों से परेशान थे। हमारे देश में गरीबी में कमी नहीं हो रही थी। इमर्जेन्सी

[श्री राजदेव सिंह]

के साथ यह 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम हमारे देश के लिए एक वरदान साबित हुआ है।

आज लोग कहते हैं कि इमर्जेंसी से कम से कम यह तो हो गया है कि जब कि पहले शहर में शाम के बाद घूमना मुश्किल हो जाता था, आज वे लोग निश्शंक हो कर घूम रहे हे। पहले आये-दिन अखबारों में यह पढ़ने को मिलता था कि चाकू चलाने की इतनी घटनायें हुई हैं और इतने मर्डर हुए हैं। अगर इमर्जेन्सी के माने यही है कि इन सब बातों का अन्त हो जाये, तो इमर्जेन्सी बड़ी अच्छी चीज है। अगर यह देश इमर्जेन्सी के भीतर ही तरक्की कर सकता है, और समाज-विरोधी तत्व दबे रह सकते हैं, तो इमर्जेन्सी बडी अछी चीज है और इस को हमेशा कायम रहना चाहिए, क्योंकि इसी मे हम देश की तरक्की देखते हैं।

मुझे पूरी उम्मीद है कि सरकार उसी मुस्तेदी के साथ, जो आज दिखाई दे रही है, काम करती रहेगी, इमर्जेंसी से लाभ उठाने के कारण हमारे देश की गरीबी बहुत हद तक दूर होगी और हमारे पिछड़े हुए इलाके भी आर्थिक दृष्टि मे तरक्की कर सकेग।

इन शब्दो के साथ मैं 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम का पूरा समर्थन करता हूं।

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM): We had quite a wide-ranging discussion covering about 18 hours I am sure I am echoing the feeling of this House when I say that the debate was maintained at a very high level. Very many notable contributions were made not only from my party, but from other parties also, and I was happy to note that there was unanimity amongst all the Members who participated in this debate, including our turbulent Turk and, therfore, I am sure that, if my friend represnts those who are absent from the House, perhaps they also might have followed the same policy of suporting this programme.

First of all, I would like to deal with the points that were made with regard to the state of the economy.

17 hrs.

I purposely depicted the optimistic picture of the State of the economy with reference to (1) the price situation and (2) the prospects for this year which, I thought, should get reflected in the coming years also to a certain extent. When I mentioned that as on 12th July, the price was 2.1 per cent lower than the price level of corresponding priod last year, Shri Indrajit Gupta thought that this might be a statistical trick. Of course, statics could be used for any purpose, whatsoever But what is important is that you have to compare the like with like. You cannot take one set of statistics for one purpose and another set of statistics for another purpose, and that was what Shri Indrajit Gupta attempted to do in quoting statistics.

I have got the latest figures—because we have got more week past that, that is, with reference to 1975, a week after 12.7.75 the position had further improved The wholesale price index declined by 0.3 per cent and the annual rate of inflation as on 19.7.75 was 2.7 per cent. It was 2.1 per cent in the previous week.

Sir, I would like to point out that many people think that this is an under-estimate. There was a leading article in the Times of India on 2.8.75 on "Economy Regains Its Poise". I am reading it out. It says:

"In the Review of the economic situation Mr. Subramaniam presented to Parliament on Wednesday, he cited figures to show that the price level is now about two per cent lower than a year ago. This probably understates the improvement. The Economic Times index, which realistically gives greater weightage to open market prices, shows a fall of ten per cent in the genral price

level over the year, and of 2.4 per cent in the past month. In relation to food, this index points to a decline of two per cent in the last 12 months and 4.6 per cent since June 30. The downward trend during a lean month like July, when food prices normally move up, warrants confidence that the inflationary trend has been really reversed."

In considering the price fluctuation, you will have to take into account the traditional pattern in which the prices fluctuate. There is what we call a lean period of the year when the prices tend to rise and then in the period when harvests come in a big way, soon after the harvests, the prices tend to come down. This lean period begings from April and goes up to October and after that the Kharif Harvest comes and then prices begin to decline.

In our economy, during the last two years, even when prices had to fall—seasonal falls have got to be there—unfortunately, the prices went on rising and this further got accelerated during the lean period. This was happening during the last two years. It was, for the first time, that this seasonal fall—even before the seasonal fall began from October onwards—began to get reflected, and naturally we should have expected from April onwards a rising trend because of the traditionally lean season during this period. It was exhibited for a few weeks and we were concerned about it. Therefore, we made an exercise by calling all the economic experts, discussed with them, went into the various statistics and came to the conclusion that perhaps this may not be purely seasonal—there are some non-seasonal factors also like money supply, etc. Therefore, we again reviewed the situation and tightened up our monetary policy and various other measures for the purpose of bringing down the deficit not only of the Central Government but also of the State Governments. Fortunately, that paid a dividend and again the prices started showing a downward trend. Naturally, the Emergency has considerably improved the situation. Shri Indrajit Gupta, naturally, pointed out that this has not got reflected in the retail prices. I am sure, the hon. Members are aware that the wholesale price index takes a little time to get reflected, particularly when it is on a downward trend, at the retail level. The experts say that it takes at least six weeks because the retailers have their own stocks which they have purchased at a higher price. They do not have the capacity to absorb the loss. They have to sell at a higher price. When the new stocks come, then alone they will be able to show a decrease in the price. Therefore, there is always a time-lag. But, fortunately, the Emergency compressed this time-lag. We find that at the retail level also, the prices have started falling down. On the whole, whether it is 10 per cent or 2.7 per cent or 2.1 per cent, what is important for us to understand is that it is a satisfactory situation as far as the price trends are concerned. If further steps are required to be taken, I want to assure the House that the Government will not hesitate to take those steps.

Secondly, as I emphasized earlier in my opening speech, merely monetary and fiscal policies, containing the money supply and, on that basis, bringing about a better price situation, will not be an all-time answer for the inflationary situation. It can come about only by increased production. That is why I tried to quote figures with regard to agricultural production and industrial production. It is on that basis of an estimated increase in GNP during this year of roundabout 5 to 6 per cent that I suggested that this year is likely to be from the production point of view also a much better year when compared to previous years. I also said about increased investments also. For the purpose of giving a little bit of dynamism in the growth of economy, we increased the Plan investment by 23 per cent in

(Shri C. Subramaniam.)

which we gave priority, naturally, to irrigation and power. In my Budget speech, I indicated that our priorities have got to be food and energy. From that point of view, we gave priority to irrigation and power.

I want to inform the House that further exercises are going on with regard to our irrigation projects and power projects and, if it becomes necessary to allocate more resources, we would not hestitate to allocate those resources particularly to some of the big projects which have been going on indefinitely. We are taking steps to see that sufficient resources are made available to big projects, like, Nagarjunasagar project, Rajasthan Canal and various other projects so that we would be able to complete them as quickly as possible and get the results as quickly as possible. I want to tell the House that the only limitation would be the absorbing capacity of these various projects. Taking that into account, we are trying to allocate for these various projects . .

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA. If the States are not able to do it, why don't you take them over?

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: It is not just a question of taking them over. If we cannot improve the States' organisation, their functioning in a better manner, then we are not going to achieve results. If we think that it is the Central Government alone which can produce results or we have to step in wherever there are deficiencies, then we are not going to achieve results. It is a question of improving the efficiency of State Governments also. I am glad to say that they are responding well. There are a few States where whatever steps we might be able to take, we may not be able to improve the efficiency. But there are some States about which I am prepared to say where State Governments are much better than the Central Government in various sectors. I am prepared to concede that. Therefore, it is not a question that we alone have been in a position to have better efficiency and better performance.

In the same way, take, for example, power. We are trying to find out what are the projects for which we can spend more money and get results quickly. Kali Nadhi is one of them which is being examined. Therefore, we are trying to identify these projects, and the Planning Commission is making a very detailed exercise trying to find out how far the existing organisation could be improved upon and how much more resources they would be able to absorb during the present year. Perhaps, the same tempo could be kept up in the coming years also.

So, in these two areas, irrigation and power, we are trying to see that the physical capacity is matched by the financial resources required for the purpose of utilising the entire physical capacity that we have for putting up projects. This is how we look at these

I am sorry, Dr. Rao is not here. He, in his intervention, quoted some figures with regard to our tax collections and said, 'It is all right; there is buoyancy, but now I find, taking the total tax collection, that there is a decrease'. Unfortunately, he seems to have mixed up the figures of one year with the other. I have got the figures here. From April to June, 1975, the income-tax was Rs. 149 crores, central excise was Rs. 757 crores and customs Rs. 329 crores; thus the total comes to Rs. 1,235 crores. From April to June 1974, the income-tax was Rs. 138 crores, central excise Rs. 661 crores, customs Rs. 289 crores and the total Rs. 1,088 crores. Therefore, there is an increase of 13½ per cent. What Dr. Rao did was, he interchanged the figures with regard to central excise; he put the figure Rs. 661 crores, which was actually the figure for April—June 1974, as the

figure for April—June 1975, and put the figure of Rs. 757 crores, which was actually the figure for April—June 1975 as the figure for April—June 1974, and added them and found that there was no increase. It only shows that even Homer nods....

AN HON. MEMBER: Was it Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao or Dr. K. L. Rao?

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao. On this basis, he built up a series of arguments to say that we are taking a complacent view. All those arguments fall to the ground once the arithmetic is correct.

Naturally investments will have to be in the industrial sector also. Then alone a real growth can be expected. For that also, we have looked into the resources required for the public sector projects where we have to get them completed, and we are continuously reviewing them. The private sector also, whether we like it or not, has to play a role in our mixed economy. For that also we have had a meeting with the financial institutions, we have reviewed the situation with regard to the resources which would be required to meet the investment requirements, particularly in the priority sectors, and we have ensured that those resources would be available with the financial institutions for the purpose of making investments in these industrial projects.

So, this is the totality of the picture on the basis of which I took an optimistic view what regard to the future trends. Naturally, every hon. Member emphasized, 'It is all right, the programme looks very good; but what about implementation? Everything depends upon implementation'. I agree that it depends upon implementation. Shri Indrajit Gupta went on to emphasize further that the future of everybody, including the Prime Minister, depended upon implementation. Naturally, if we are not able to implement our programmes even under the present circumstances, certainly we have no justification to exist as Government. I do agree there. But I am sure that in a new atmosphere things get done much more speedily. Take the functioning of this House itself. During the last two weeks, we have put through a record number of legislations. Can anybody say that the quality of the debates was not upto the mark? When Shri Indrajit Gupta or somebody else spoke, they did not hesitate to provide those punches, but, of course, punches not to knock out, but punches to make us alert. Constructive criticisms were there, punches were there, but in spite of all that, we were able to put through so many legislations. I am sure, if it had been the past atmosphere, the same results could have been achieved with our majority, but with how much delay and how much of bickerings? This itself proves that the atmosphere counts. Wherever there are obstacles, wherever there are positive obstructions, howsoever efficient you are, you have to battle with the obstacles and obstructions which are put in the way of implementation. Therefore, the one encouraging factor now is this new atmosphere which has come about in the country today and in this new atmosphere, as we have shown record transaction of business in the House, I hope and trust, the implementation also outside this House will be at the same level.

Naturally, many hon. Members referred to the implementation machinery; this will have to be looked into. It is not merely the atmosphere which is important, the administrative machinery which will have to respond to this is also important. In that connection, I tried to find out in our Central administration, what is the composition of the various types of officers. It was a revealing picture. I found, there are 29,000 Class I officers, who form 1 per cent of the total number of employees; 54,000 Class II officers, roughly 2 per cent of the total number of employees, 15 lakhs Class

[Shri C. Subramaniam]

III employees, forming 52 per cent of the total employees and 12.75 lakhs Class IV employees forming 45 per-cent of the total number of employees. For speedy business, it looks as if we depend more upon Class IV employees rather than anybody else. And, therefore, unless we get ourselves oriented towards better material for the purpose of processing these various things which are required for taking a decision, there will not only be delays but there will be deficiency in the quality also. This is a matter which will have to be looked into and I have been emphasising this that unless we get away from this Class IV culture, perhaps we may not become a little more efficient. Every officer should have according to the status a number of Class IV employees and Ministers also correspondingly should have more number of Class IV employees. What are the functions they are doing? If only we go into it, perhaps their contribution is almost nil, if it is not negative. Perhaps if I carry a paper. I will not be allowed to take that; it would be snatched away by the colleague who is accompanying me. These people could go in for more productive employment rather than being employed here. We know the way in which we have been pushing the files from one table to the other and the time taken towards that. Therefore, a newstyle of functioning will have to come about if we have to speed up the process of decision making. This is absolutely important. Fortunately, we are engaged in identifying these various areas of delays and I want to tell the House one simple step which I took for the purpose of speeding up the disposal of files and which is bringing dramatic results. I did it when I was in Madras. There also it achieved very significant results. Now, I have introduced what is called flow-sheet here also for every file. It shows when a file reaches a particular officer and when it leaves him so that when I take that sheet, it immediately tells me where it has got delayed. If it is delayed for more than a particular time, then the officer concerned should give an explanation why it has been delayed. I can tell you since this was introduced about two months ago, I had no occasion to pull up anybody. Of course, there were attempts here and there to delay the introduction. But now the flow-sheet comes with every file and you at a glance see how the movement of the file has been. So, we have to take simple measures like this for the purpose of improving our performance.

What I have been saying is that this has got to be a continuous exercise so that our machinery becomes more responsive to the new situation. There is no use of blaming the official machinery So, unless we change the system where is no use of blaming the people. No doubt, we attach more importance to commitment, etc. But, as far as the bureaucracy is concerned, exceptig certain fanatical people, they get accustomed to any sort of programme that we put forward and they are able to get themselves adjusted. With regard to the trained man-power in the bureaucracy, if we change the system properly and make them function in the proper system, I have no doubt the official machinery, even those whom we find today are unable to deliver the goods, will be able to function in a more efficient manner. This should be our attempt. Therefore, this is being attempted in a manner which would go on producing better results.

Naturally, when we talk in terms of these programmes, the new programmes and also with regard to the old programmes, our priorities have been quite clear. For example, the removal of backwardness in the various regions and backwardness among the population itself. These are all very well-known priorities. But,—inspite of that, it had not been possible to remove this backwardnes in many of the regions. For example, I think Mr.

Tiwary was mentioning about Bihar. Therefore, I would like to deal with Bihar because this is a typical example. We should find out why the backwardness persists there. Is there no remedy for it? As far as Bihar is concerned, fortunately, as far as land resources are concerned, it has got the richest soil. As far as water resources are concerned, perhaps, no other State can equal it with regard to availability of water resources also. With regard to minerals, I am sure everybody would agree that it has got a rich mineral wealth also. In spite of this today with regard to the per capita income, when we started the planning process, it was the 5th or 6th in the list, Today, they have managed to go to the bottom of the list. They cannot say that there are no industries at all. Particularly, if you take the public sector industries, some of the biggest complexes are situated there. Apart from the TISCO which has come about long ago, we have got the Ranchi complex, the biggest complex existing anywhere else in the country. Therefore. only if big industries could have removed the backwardness, if not the northern Bihar, at least the Chota-Nagpur area should be at par with the rest of the country. Therefore, it is something else in Bihar which has got to be dealt with. If you look at it, it is the feudal atmosphere which persists in Bihar which drags down this caste-ridden State. I am sorry to say it and it gets reflected from the top to bottom and unless you break this feudal atmosphere in Bihar, you are not going to make any progress whatsoever, whatever further industries we may pump into that area or whatever further resources we may pump into that area. How to do that? Now, you should take into account how, among the various States, it remains such a backward State and what measures should be taken for the purpose of breaking this feudal thing. This feudal thing has got reflected in the landhood, in the rigid caste system. In my view whatever is necessary for other States or not (there is no doubt that it is necessary for other areas also) for Bihar, to get into State of factionalism for progress there has to be ruthless implementation of our land reforms. Without that you cannnot break feudalism.

SHRI KARTIK ORAON: The Prime Minister in her broadcast said that special care will be taken to ensure that tribal people are not deprived of their land, In your programme of implementation it is the first thing to be deleted. I would request you to follow whatever the Prime Minister has said in the broadcast.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: In my view this is the first thing to be done. If we want to get away from the backwardness and get into new system of progress towards which we are marching, I would suggest that this is the first thing which should be done. All sorts of excuses are made that there are no land records. If we have the will to do in the new atmosphere, can we not use the entire student population for the purpose of preparing land records? If six months are given for the purpose and students are involved for preparing the land records, I hope this thing can be achieved quickly. It is a question of political will to do this. We should not have excuses to postpone the implementation of land reforms. I want to tell Mr. Tiwary and a group of other friends as also friends from Bihar, they may be shouting hoarse, but unless you do this there can be no progress in Bihar.

SHRI D. N. TIWARY: When feudalism was more in Bihar, it was ranking seventh State in per capita income. Now when feudalism is not there it has become last.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: If hon. Member feels with intensification of feudalism, there was progress, I have sympathy with him. But this is this attitude in Bihar which stands in the way of Bihar's progress. I stand to

[Shri C. Subramaniam]

be corrected by others. Implementation of land reforms should be given the highest priority in Bihar. Secondly, on the basis of integrated rural development, with agricultural base we can make a worthwhile progress. Take any other State which has made progress or even the countries which have made progress in the past. Agriculture has been the base. Without that there could not have been industrial development at all and particularly in the country like ours where 70 per cent is engaged in agriculture and 80 per cent are in the rural areas, there is no option but to improve our agriculture and as I stated in the other House, whether we like it or not, our agricultural economy has to be a small-farm-based economy and not a large-farm-based economy. Fortunately, today we have technology developed for the purpose of intensive agriculture based on small farms, reaching the highest level of production, exploiting the land resources to the maximum extent possible and there are pioneering examples in regard to this in various parts of the world We need not go farther, we have seen many examples in our country. When I talk about Bihar (this is applicable to various parts of the country where we have to make progress) our progress has to be based on the agricultural rural development.

We were talking about unemployment problem about which Mr. Mohan Dharia has always been talking eloquently that we should have more and more employment programmes, I do agree that we should push our employment programmes in multifarious directions. But at the same time if we want to solve the rural problem of unemployment, it has to be got done on the basis of an integrated rural development. How has this integrated rural development to come about? Not on the primitive method of rural development. This is where science and technology have to play a very curical role. Therefore, I would suggest for the consideration of the House, and this is what we have been attempting to do in our Science and Technology plan also; we should have a plan of developmental application of rural technology. Only a few days back a few friends from the Bangalore Institute of Science came to see me; they said that they had formed a team, a team of scientists at the highest level, who are teaching in that Institute. They said, they decided to go to a village, about 70 miles away from Bangalore and settle down there and then identify the problems there, trying to find out how Science and Technology could be applied, for the purpose of removing backwardness there, for the purpose of improving the productivity, for the purpose of bringing about a better environment there They have had some short-term experience in functioning in that village. They told me that they were encouraged very much, not only by the results which are coming out of their experiments, but by the response from the scientific community. And, therefore, perhaps we should see now that each high level scientific, technological or technical institution should be asked to take over a specific area and concentrate their efforts there to find out how science and technology could be applied for the purpose of better development of that area and to increase the productivity. And therefore, it is only Science and Technology which could provide the answer to remove this backwardness And it is on the basis of this alone that we would be able to tackle many of the problems with which we are confronted whether it is unemployment or the removal of poverty particularly in the rural areas. So, this is the answer for that.

Then, Members talked about rural indebtedness. Rural indebtedness is also due to the feudal traditions which have been prevailing, bonded labour and other things. All these will have to go. And it is not merely this indebtedness but also the exploitation of the rural poor by the private money

lenders which has to go. Mr. Indrajit Gupta pointed out this thing. As far as Bihar is concerned, it is a coal mine area. I recently went through a report. That person knew something about what was happening there how the coalminers were being exploited by a set of organised goondas, and they are the money-lenders. And, unfortunately,—I am sorry to say this here —the trade union also was a participant in this exploitation. This is the sort of picture that is happening. Is it not a challenge to all of us? We talk about it....

SHRI S. M BANERJEE (Kanpur): INTUC.

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: Might be INTUC or AITUC, I do not know who it is, but it is a disgrace to our entire trade union movement; it is no use passing on the buck. but what are you doing there. You talk about protecting the labour and protecting the poor, but have you gone there, have you tried to organise and see that these malpractices are removed? And, therefore, there is no use blaming others, if we have not done anything about it, and, to that extent we also contribute to the deterioration of the situation there. Therefore, it is a challenge to all of us. There is no use of throwing blame on somebody. If the private money lender is going to lead to this sort of exploitation of rural poor, and even of the industrial labour, then, we have got to sit down and think about it, how to abolish it, how to eradicate this practice. When we talk in terms of removing rural indebtedness, it is not by moratorium. of course, that is a part of it: but it cannot stop there; we have to proceed further; you should have organisations to cater to the needs of these people. There also, they want to continue in the same old tradition. How do these people get indebted? They get indebted, because, they want to imitate the rich in performing their marriages, they want to have the same funeral ceremonies, they want to have the same birth ceremonies and therefore some of their indebtedness starts with this wasteful expenditure. Therefore, the social custom is a thing which stands in the way. But, for this social custom, who sets the pattern? It is the rich people and better-off people, even the educated people, who set the pattern.

Therefore, if you want to remove the rural indebtedness and if you want to remove the root cause for this, then all of us will have to respond to this and set an example to the poor because they would look respectable only when they perform the marriage in a certain style. Why? Because we are doing it in the same way. Therefore can the politicians set a better example? Can the officialdom set a better example? Can the educated people set a better example? Therefore, when we talk about the rural indebtedness, let us not attack the rural indebtedness in isolation. Unless we attack the social customs which lead to the wasteful expenditure, even this rural indebtedness cannot be tackled in an effective way. So, it has to be looked at as a whole and not in isolation. We should look at it from that point of view. It is the educated elite—the richer section of the people—who spoil the poorer sections by their own wasteful expenditure.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): What about Dowry?

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: I am coming to Dowry. We talk about the dowry. When we talk about it, in the international year for women, we are thinking of liberating the women, can we liberate them from the dowry system? Who are the worst sinners in this dowry system to-day? A doctor has got a certain price; an engineer has got a certain price; an I.A.S. man has got a certain price; and a prospective I.A.S. has got a certain price. That is the system. Therefore, can we do something to remove this system? If this is a bad system, then, we should go all-out for this purpose. Can we say that any young

[Shri C. Subramaniam]

man who takes dowry will not get employment in Government service or in Government enterprise? Can we say that any government servant who takes dowry for his son will be dismissed from service? Will we not be ruthless a little bit in that way? Unless we take a very positive decision —sometimes such steps are taken— we may be talking about the various systems but they will continue to be pursued in spite of our talking. This is the time for action. Therefore, let us identify these social evils and attack them at the source. I have no doubt in my mind that in the present stage of emergency and the atmosphere created out of it, many of the social evils can be uprooted and even rooted out positively. This should be our attempt.

Then I come to the industrial development.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: We shall not attend the marriage of Shri Karunanidhi's daughter!

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: We should set an example. Let us all make it clear that we shall not attend any ostentatious marriage. From today, let us make a beginning. If we take a vow here that all of us, group of Parliamentarians, will not attend any marriage where there is ostentatious expenditure—of course, marriage is a private affair and I am sure that when Shri Banerjee mentions this, we can mention this to the President also that this seems to be the wish of the House rather than only of a particular individual. Therefore, I would pass on to the area of industrial development. Naturally, Shri Indrajit Gupta was very much concerned about the statement of the Prime Minister about nationalisation. He said that that was anohter doctrinaire statement because perhaps he was reacting to her statement, that she was not a doctrinaire socialist. I would like him to read the statement a little more farefully. Then, perhaps, he would not have made this charge. The second para graph began this way—I am talking about the 27th June broadcast—where she mentioned all this.

"In the meantime, rumour mongers and anti-social elements have had a field day and have spread stories of all kinds. I want to assure you that the leaders under arrest are being extended all courtesy and consideration."

That is a different thing. Similarly, wild conjectures are circulating about nationalisation of industries etc. and drastic new controls. She said 'we have no such plans'. Therefore, this was responding to a situation that existed where all sorts of rumours were going about and therefore uncertainties created. Therefore, she wanted to give the assurance that 'we have no such plans'. That means, as far as the present juncture is concerned. And she was responding to that situation. This was not a restatement of the policy with regard to nationalisation. We have our own policy with regard to nationalisation. That also has been categorically stated. We do not nationalise just for the sake of nationalisation sake which might be the ideology for some people But, if it is necessary for the health of the economy, if it is necessary in the interests of the public, we have never hesitated to nationalise. and that is going to be our our policy in the future also. Therefore, it is not a question of a declaration of no nationalisation at all. We will follow the same policy as we have had all along. I want to assure this House and assure the country also and inform the others who are interested in this matter that nationalisation when it becomes a necessity and when it is necessary for the health of the economy and for the public good, as such, will be put through. I would suggest to Shri Genda Singh that with regard to sugar nationalisation also this will be the test on which sugar nationalisation will be approached. It is not that we are unaware of the problems with

which sugar industry is confronted particularly in U.P. and Bihar. We are thinking of to how to solve this problem and I would assure the hon. Member that we will come out with some proposals which would ameliorate the condition particularly in the sugar industry in that area. Therefore, there is no such thing as doctrinaire approach with regard to nationalisation. I hope Shri Indrajit Gupta would be satisfied in the light of the explanation I had given with regard to the policy of nationalisation.

Then naturally—whether some of us like it or not-ours is a mixed economy. Today we have got a private sector and that private sector also will have to function in a healthy way. We have been talking all along of public sector functioning in a healthy way and always criticism had come about that this is the sort of functioning in the public sector and, therefore, decrying public sector. But during the last two years if you look at the picture I think it has been completely reversed. It is the public sector which is showing dynamism. It is the public sector which is increasing its annual rate of production by 10 per cent, 15 per cent, 20 per cent and sometimes 30 per cent. The classical example is coal. When we nationalised coal everybody said that this is the end of coal industry Unfortunately in the transitional period soon after nationalisation we had to go through many difficulties. When production was going down in this period everybody was pointing the finger and saying this is how you nationalise and perform. Today you see the buoyancy and dynamism there. From 78 million tonnes production it has gone up to 88 million tonnes. Do you think under private management the coal production would have jumped from 78 million tonnes to 88 million tonnes?

Now, my good friend, Mr. Pant, who intervened in the debate said that this year it is going to be 98 million tonnes. Under no circumstances if the coal mines had continued with the private sector we could have talked in terms of 98 million tonnes and going forward to 135 million tonnes by the end of this Plan period.

Therefore, the private sector while we allow them to function should also be a healthy private sector and not an exploitative private sector. This is most important

How is this exploitation made feasible? It is because of the hereditary management system which persists in the private sector today. It might be that a particular person who is a pioneer in an industrial field can build an empire but it does not mean that his son or grand-son or, if no son, the son-in-law also becomes a competent industrial manager. This will have to go. Only professionalisation of management could make private sector healthy and that is why unless we delink ownership and management in the private sector the same sickness which we found in the bureaucratic management of the public sector will get itself exhibited in the private sector. Why do we find so many textile mills becoming sick? Why do we find cement plants becoming sick? Why do we have engineering units becoming sick? It is mainly because of this hereditary management or purchased private management. You pay money and purchase it. These are the two things. That is also one way of purchasing management Therefore, we have got to see that we professionalise our management in the private sector and this is not an impossible task. We are very much looking into it. As a matter of fact, I would like to remind hon. Members about the controversial paper which I had prepared in 1969 with regard to bank nationalisation, particularly, with regard to private sector This is the positive suggestion I had made that the delinking of ownership from management in the private sector would alone yield results and we are looking into that now.

[Shri C. Subramaniam]

Then, something was said about the textile policy. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao asked, why can't we have a standard set of dress? This is nothing new for us, particularly for Congressmen. During the days of freedom struggle, from the top leader down to the volunteer, we had the same dress, Khadi. Therefore, this is nothing new for us. Therefore, if we were able to adopt a national dress, during those days, particularly for our freedom fighters, for our organisation and for large millions of people, I am sure, it should not be difficult for us now to adopt a standard dress so that these various varieties which are being produced today are reduced to the minimum possible. We need not go to China to cite and example for this. We can cite our own example. As regards the textile policy, I am sure hon. Members are aware that we are discussing this in our own party, with regard to a rational textile policy and we hope to come out with something positive for the consideration of this House also perhaps, for the purpose of evolution of a textile policy.

Then, take for example, cement. Today, the production has increased and we have reached a level where we are producing at the rate of 1.5 million tonnes every month. This would give us 18 million tonnes a year whereas the best production in the past was only 15 million tones. Therefore, there should not be any scarcity in regard to cement. But, even now, today, I am told, in the rural sector, a few bags required for agricultural purposes, for minor irrigation purposes, are not available I want to make an announcement on behalf of my colleague Shri T. A. Pai that Government have decided to allocate one million tonnes purely for the rural and agricultural sector. This would be made available through various out-lets for the purpose of backing up our minor irrigation programmes and for small repairs here and there in the rural sector and so on. I am assured by my colleague that if this one million tonnes is not sufficient those will be allocated to the rural sector. We will give the highest priority to it. It is not merely allocation which is important. How do we have a rational distribution system for this purpose? This is what I have emphasized and this is also, I am sure, very much in the fore front as one of the main programmes out of this twenty point programme and we are looking into this aspect also. Let us hope that we will be able to evolve a rational distribution system for all these essential commodities not only in the urban areas, but in the rural areas as well. In the rural areas, the types of essential commodities may change, but there also, these essential commodities will have to be provided to the rural masses will have to take care of that also.

Then, Sir, very many hon. Members referred to the recent disclosures with regard to the vulgar display of wealth in the various living houses, how they have used money for the purpose of decorating their houses, creating various amenities. We are talking about removing disparity. In a poor country like ours, if you take the topmost people, their standard of living is not only comparable to the topmost in the most developed countries, but, their standard of living is also more, much higher than that of the topmost people in the developed countries. Because here they are able to exploit the cheap labour also. They can have any number of servants, one servant in the bathroom, two servants in the kitchen, another two servants in the drawing room. (*Interruptions*) wherever you like.

AN HON. MEMBER: They are solving unemployment!

SHRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: Therefore, the disparity is much more here than even in the developed countries, in the capitalist countries. That is why this volgar display will have to be curtailed. If we talk in terms of a

better society where these disparities would not exist, then naturally those who are at the higher level will have to have standards comparable and which are in harmony with the economy of our country as a whole. This is where I think—a few members made this point—all of us will have to set an example, particularly those of us who are in responsible positions in life. And unless we set an example, we cannot merely preach to others. While we are taking measures to curb these things, not only to curb but also to punish those people who are using black money for these various purposes, this should also become a national way of life and this is how perhaps a better egalitarian society can be brought about in our country, because certainly we cannot take all of them to the consuming level which the top enjoy. Perhaps that is not only not necessary, but, in my view, it will be undesirable also. Therefore, we have to have certain norms of consumption even at the highest level. Unless those norms are kept, we cannot have these disparities removed. This is also one aspect which we will have to keep in mind.

Another point—many people stressed this point—that the 20-point programme is not going to deliver the goods, is not going to remove all the disparities, is not going to remove all the defficulties, is not going to remove the entire poverty of the country. In my view, this is only a beginning of the process, and a process in the right direction. There also I think the Prime Minister had been quite categorical. She had no illusions about the scope of the 20-point programme. This is what she said in that broadcast announcing this 20-point programme:

> "I have only briefly outlined various parts of the new programme which will be taken up in the coming weeks. Other matters are being looked into and further measures will be announced from time to time".

Therefore, let us not go under the impression perhaps that this will bring about, immediately with the implementation of this 20-point programme, a new society altogther. But if we proceed in the same direction and take other measures also which are in consonance with these, I have no doubt in my mind that this would lead to the creation of a new society. I would compare these to a few bricks which are available today for putting up the structure, but the structure cannot be completed with these bricks alone. Many more bricks will be necessary to complete the building. These will have to be brought in so that we can have it built up as a completely new structure altogether.

Many of us, I would say a few of us here, had the privilege of participating in the freedom movement. We were living in days of what I would call historic times and we were making history there. The fruits of that history we are enjoying today. In the same way, I would suggest we are passing through historic times today and we have the privilege in participating and in making history today. That history should be one of which we ourselves should be proud, of which more than that posterity should be proud, for which posterity would bless us because we have left for them a better world to live in with less disparity, with greater prosperity for the masses of the people. Let us all put our heads together, put our shoulders together, for the creation of this new history and new society.

There are quite a few amendments I would make an appeal to those who have moved them Not that I do not agree with the spirit behind them.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Mine is quite harmless.

SHRI C SUBRAMANIAM: But that would be purely sectional covering only certain points. This has got to be on a broad canvas Simply accept-

[Shri C. Subramaniam]

ing one amendment would mean that that only is important and the others are not important. Terefore, we have taken note of the situation. We have taken note of the spirit behind the amendments also. I accept them in that spirit. Therefore, I would suggest that they need not press the amendments as such for adoption.

SHRI KARTIK ORAON: The Prime Minister's broadcast spoke of special care being taken to ensure that tribal people are not deprived of their land. Why has that been omitted... (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: After the request of the hon. Minister are you pressing for your amendments? No. Now I shall put the motion.

AN HON. MEMBER: You should take it one by one.

MR CHAIRMAN: Is Shri Kathamuthu pressing for his amendment?

SHRI M. KATHAMUTHU (Nagapathiniam): As the Minister had accepted the spirit of the amendment I do not press for my amendments.

SHRI LILADHAR KOTOKI (Nowgong): I do not press my amendment.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE I wanted him to accept my amendment: he is accepting only the spirit. I do not mind. I do not press my amendment.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI (Patna): I withdraw my amendment.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I withdraw my amendment.

SHRI RAJDEO SINGH: I withdraw my amendment.

MR. CHAIRMAN Now, have the hon. Members leave of the House to withdraw their amendments?

All the amendments were by leave, withdrawn.

MR. CHIRMAN: The question is:

"That this House takes note of the New Programme for Economic Progress announced by the Prime Minister on the 1st July, 1975 and laid on the Table of the House on the 28th July, 1975."

The motion was adopted.

18 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, August 5, 1975/Sravana 14, 1897 (Saka)

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